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Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society.

Notes on the Cotter Family of Rockforest, Co. Cork.



THE surname "Cotter," as stated in the Rev. C. B. Gibson's *History of Cork*, published in 1861, was originally Ottir, or MacOttir, the Ottirs having been Danes, who settled in the Hebrides (Insigall), on the west coast of Scotland, in the middle of the 12th Century, when one of them came to Ireland and assumed the government of Dublin. This latter statement, however, can hardly be correct, as the power of the Danes as rulers in Dublin was practically ended by their defeat by King Brian Boru at the Battle of Clontarf, which took place in the previous century, viz., in 1014.

Mr. Gibson gives no information as to how the Cotters came from Dublin to Cork. But if there be any truth as to their being of Danish extraction, it would seem more probable that they were the descendants of Danes who came direct to Cork and settled there, in the same way as did the ancestors of other Cork families, such as the Goolds, Coppingers and Skiddys, who are generally believed to be of Danish origin. It is to be noted also that our great local authority, the late Dr. Caulfield, in writing of this family, makes no reference to this supposed Danish descent. The Cotter family, he tells us in his *Diary of Dean Davies*, published by the Camden Society in 1857, seems to have long resided in the Great Island in Cork Harbour, and were called MacCottir.¹

¹ Dr. Caulfield further states that another branch of the Cotters resided at Coppingers-town Castle, about three miles to the east of Midleton. In 1556 John Lord Barry entailed his estates on James, styled Lord Barryroe, a distant relative of his, whose father was thought to have been illegitimate, passing over several elder branches even of the male line; and the Crown, without questioning the right, continued the writs of summoning to James and his descendants. David, son and successor to this James, obtained a release from Margaret, daughter of James Murtagh Barry, and wife of William Shaine MacCotter, of Ballycopiner (Coppingerstown), of the inheritance of her father, Barrymoyle, or Bald Barry (a nickname derived from an ancestor, William, Lord Barry, who was bald) and another release of the same from Ellen, daughter of John Barry, the wife of — Magnier, from which it would seem that females might even then have been heirs-general. In his "Cork Remembrancer," published in 1837, Francis Tuckey points out as a curious illustration of the extension of Irish usages to land of English tenure that "In 1585 John Cotter, of Coppingerstown, having land to the amount of 174 acres, made it over to his son, on condition that he should divide and share it with his cousins after the manner of their predecessors." In Bishop Dive Downes' *Diary* mention is made that a Sir Charles Cotter surrendered Kinsale to Marlborough in 1691. This, if correct, would seem to show that there was another branch of the Cotters besides the above.

In 1529 Mauricius MacCottyr, continues Dr. Caulfield, occurs as a witness to a deed. In a deed of 1572, relating to lands in the Great Island, is mention of Gerald, son of William Juvenis MacCoter² and Edmond Boy (i.e., Yellow) MacCoter.

In 1627 (as further stated by Dr. Caulfield) Edmond Cotter is styled of Barry's Island (i.e., the Great Island), though he afterwards resided elsewhere; and in 1638 David, Earl of Barrymore, made a lease to one Astwood of the lands of Ballyvilloun, otherwise called The Cove (now Queenstown), for 141 years, at £9 per annum, which were afterwards assigned to this Edmond Cotter.

This lease would seem to have been for some reason set aside; for, according to a printed document in the present writer's possession, a similar lease was shortly afterwards executed, from which it appears that the Right Honourable Richard, Earl of Barrymore, being seized in fee of the lands of Ballyvilloun, *alias* Cove, Lissinesky, Tyneglassy, and Bancellig,³ did by indenture, dated the 18th day of November, 1652, demise these premises, then only of the yearly value of £20 or thereabouts, to Nicholas Astwood, for the term of 151 years, in consideration of a fine of £160 and of a reserved rent of £12 10s. od.; but as the same was held either in jointure or dower by Alice, Dowager Countess of Barrymore, care was taken to provide that this lease should not commence till her decease, which did not happen until fifteen years after; and his Lordship also executed a penal bond for the sum of £300 to the said Nicholas Astwood, conditioned on the performance of the covenants on his part contained in the said indenture of lease. Then, by deed of the 28th of

² This deed appears to be that referred to on page 143 of our Society's reprint of Dr. Smith's "History of Cork," of which only the opening words are there given. It is apparently the same document whose full Latin text was published in the "Journal" for January, 1895, page 29, of which a translation is now for the first time given as follows:—"Know ye that I, Edmond Hodnet, Chief of my nation, of the Castle of Belvelly, in the Great Island, in the Lordship of Barrymore, have granted to Gerald, son of William Juvenis MacCotter, of the said Island, one carucate of land lying from Ballinacurrig (Bawncollig) on the east to the sea on the west, and from Ballinacrusha and Burgesh on the south to the grounds of Belvelly Castle on the north, to be held subject to the following conditions, viz., whensoever I, Edmond Hodnett, or my heirs, etc., pay sixteen good milch cows, six plough-oxen, twenty-four sheep, and yards of cloth of the value of fifty-three shillings and fourpence, that then it shall be lawful for me, Edmond Hodnet, my heirs etc., to enter and hold the said lands." The above is what is termed a Welsh mortgage. The Ballinacurrig above-named adjoins the "Old Church" burial ground, a mile to the north of Queenstown. Ballinacrusha lies a mile further to the north-east, where a cross probably one time stood, as its name indicates. A chapel stood here within living memory, which fell into disuse and was finally thrown down, after the building of Ballymore Chapel about eighty years ago. There is now no place on the Great Island named Burgesh. It was probably intended for the appellation, Burgage.

³ The four localities above mentioned still retain their names in a slightly altered form. Bancellig, as already stated, adjoins the "Old Church." Lisaniskea lies less than a mile to the north-west on the road to Belvelly. Tinneglashy lies between Wheeler's Dock and Carrigaloe, where there is a well on the shore, whence water is drawn to supply the shipping in the harbour; whilst Ballyvilloun, though no longer identified with Queenstown, is the name of the tract of land to the north of the General Hospital, where horse races were one time held.

The Nicholas Astwood named in the above lease was probably the Nicholas Astwood of Cork who had some dealings with the pirate, Claes Campané, from whom he bought 360 weight of pepper, as recorded in Caulfield's "Council Book of Cork," p. xxiii. A remarkable lawsuit took place after some years relative to these lands, which will be referred to later on.

April, 1656, Mr. Astwood, for the sum of £160, assigned all his interest in the above lands to the Edmond Cotter, Esq., before-mentioned.

This Edmond Cotter finally took up his residence at Ballinsperie, or Ballinsperrig, now Annegrove, near Carrigtwohill, which he had purchased from the Barrymore Barrys in 1652, where he died in 1660. He was the father of Sir James Cotter, Knight, also of Ballinsperrig, "than whom," observes Mr. Gibson, in his *History of Cork*, "King James the Second had no more faithful and honourable follower," of whose career, remarkable as it was, very little seems to be now known.

As stated in Mr. Charles MacCarthy Collins Tenison's "Cork M.P.'s," in the Second Series of this *Journal*, 1895, Sir James Cotter was the son of Edmond Cotter by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Connell, of Barryscourt. In early life he had been Marshal and Secretary of the West Indies in the year 1676. He first married Mary, daughter of Sir William Stapleton, Baronet, Governor-General of the Leeward Islands, who died childless; he married again, in July, 1688, the Hon. Eleanor Plunket, daughter of Matthew, 7th Lord Louth, who died in 1698; and, lastly, Sir James Cotter himself died in 1705.

He was Knighted, the present writer has been informed, immediately after the Battle of Worcester. After Knighting him Charles II. took a ring off his own finger, containing a miniature of his father, King Charles I., set in diamonds, which he presented to Sir James Cotter. This ring came afterwards by descent to his great-grandson, Colonel George Sackville Cotter. But though his fame rests chiefly on his connection with James II., it appears pretty evident that merely by right of succession to his father, Sir James Cotter would have been an important personage in the County Cork of his day. In Tuckey's *Cork Remembrancer*, pages lxxviii-ix, it is stated that in 1683 Ballymagooley, with an extensive mountain tract adjoining, was sold by Theobald Roche to James Cotter, Esq., for £2,782, which was little more than its annual value (in 1837), and that in 1685 a large estate near Castlelyons was sold by the Earl of Barrymore and his tenant to James Cotter, Esq., for £3,020, somewhat more than twice the present (1837) annual value. Mr. Cotter, adds the *Remembrancer*, "was afterwards Knighted, and became a conspicuous military character in the Wars of the Revolution." In 1683, long before that, however, he was appointed a Justice or Commissioner of the Peace for Cork during Charles the Second's reign.

In D'Alton's *King James's Army List* the only reference made to Sir James Cotter is that he had commanded a regiment of King James the Second's Dragoons, from which position he was apparently superseded in order to take up the various important posts he subsequently held, such as that of Sovereign of Midleton, to which, according to Smith's *Cork*, he was appointed in 1687, when that town was incorporated by a Charter of King James, which Charter soon after went into disuse.

On February 11th, 1689 (as stated in Tuckey's *Cork Remembrancer*), Sir James Cotter was appointed by King James II. Governor of the City of Cork and of the Great Island, to keep the officers and soldiers in good order and discipline. On February 26th General Justin MacCarthy (Lord Mountcashel)⁴ appointed him to command His Majesty's forces in the

⁴ See "Journal" for Oct.-Dec., 1907.

city, fort, and within the liberties of Cork, and on March the 4th gave a warrant to Sir James Cotter, then Colonel of Dragoons, to search for and seize all horses, arms and ammunition in the County of Cork from persons not licensed by him. In June and July following Sir James Cotter was appointed to receive the rents of various lands in Barrymore, Imokilly and Kerricurrihy, which appear to have been the lands of Protestants that had been sequestrated; and on July 20th of the same year he was appointed Head Ranger of Shannon Park in the County Cork.

He, furthermore, represented the City of Cork in the Parliament of 1689, besides which he was Collector of Customs at Cork, at a salary of £150 a year.

It was in his military capacity, no doubt, that he made the great but unavailing efforts, alluded to by Dr. Caulfield in the Davies' Diary, to raise levies for King James's Army amongst the "Creaghts," a sort of wandering Irish who lived in movable wickerwork tents (of whom an account is supplied in the *Kilkenny Journal* for November, 1855), and it was whilst acting under orders in passing through the county, at the head of armed bands, that the Battle of Bottle Hill occurred, in which he suffered a defeat.

"In the early part of 1691," relates Mr. Gibson, "there was a good deal of skirmishing on both the Williamite and Jacobite sides, and one of the smartest engagements of that period is styled the Battle of Bottle Hill (a place to the south of Mourne Abbey), on the 1st of April, 1691. About a hundred men of the Cork garrison, under the command of Captain Thornycroft, were on their return from Ballyhooly;⁵ when they were met at Six-Mile-Water by Sir James Cotter and Major Slingsby, at the head of three hundred men. The English had just time to get into an old ground that had a ditch breast-high, which gave them a considerable advantage. The fight lasted for three hours, when Sir James was compelled to draw off his men, with the loss of sixty killed and as many wounded. Captain Coppinger was slain in the field and Major Slingsby carried prisoner to Cork, where he died of his wounds on the 24th of July, 1691."⁶

The letter mentioned by Dr. Caulfield from the Duke of Tyrconnell to Sir James Cotter, respecting the conduct of the war, as being then (1857) in the possession of his descendant, Sir J. L. Côtter, of Rockforest, was apparently that given in Gibson's *Cork*,⁷ whence it is here reproduced, with the spelling modernised, entitled, "An Order to Empower Sir James Cotter to Levy £200 in the County of Cork, signed by Sir Richard Nagle, and issued by his Grace, Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Lieutenant

⁵ Lewis's Dictionary states that the Battle of Bottle Hill was occasioned by the relief of the English garrison of Ballymagooley Castle, which is much nearer Mallow than Ballyhooly.

⁶ This defeat would seem to be due to the same cause, that, as James II. wrote in his letters, brought about his failures in Ireland, viz., that at that time Protestants alone understood the art of making and mending gunlocks, and that in consequence he was never able to keep his partisans supplied with serviceable arms. (Report of Rev. Cæsar Otway, quoted in Isaac Butt's "Irish People and Irish Land," page 102. Dublin, 1867.)

⁷ Mr. Gibson was a Dissenting clergyman, who lived for a long time at Mallow, which probably accounts for the large amount of information his "History" contains relative to the Cotters of Rockforest, the latter place being close to Mallow. A sketch of Mr. Gibson's life was published in the "Journal" for July-September, 1903.



ROCKFOREST.

and General-Governor of Ireland, then at Limerick :—Whereas, Sir James Cotter, Knight, has been hitherto at great charges and expense in procuring and getting intelligence of the designs, carriage and endeavours of the enemy against His Majesty's army and liege people, by which means they were often prevented, and further enabling him, the said Sir James Cotter, to carry on that good service, and to continue his said correspondence by encouraging the person giving the said intelligence, We do hereby empower and authorise him, the said Sir James Cotter, to raise, collect and receive, by such means as he shall think fit, the sum of two hundred pounds sterling, out of all the lands within the County of Cork ; hereby willing and requiring the Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners of the respective Baronies, within the said County, to be aiding and assisting unto such person or persons as shall be appointed or named by the said Sir James Cotter in the collection thereof, for which we shall be to him and to them a sufficient warrant. Given at Limerick the 24th day of July, 1691, and in the seventh year of His Majesty's reign. By His Grace's Command.—RD. NAGLE, K.

Dated also from Limerick, in the succeeding month of August, was the following Order to Seize 600 pair of Brogues or Pumps. This Order is that copied from the original at Rockforest, which Mr. Gibson obtained through the Rev. George Cotter. The soldiers of both Kings, he remarks, were then sadly down at the heels and out at the toes, wooden shoes and brass money having previously been the order of the day :—" To Sir James Cotter to seize 600 pairs of shoes in the hands of Captain Cornelius MacGillicuddy. By his Grace, Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, you are herewith to seize 600 pairs of brogues or pumps, now in the hands of Captain Cornelius MacGillicuddy, which were lodged there by Colonel Denis MacGillicuddy, for the use of the regiment now belonging to Colonel Charles Murphy, whereof you are to deliver three hundred pair to Colonel Morphy, for the use of the said regiment, and the remainder you are to distribute in the garrison of Rosse, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Limerick the — day of August, 1691. By his Grace's Command.—RD. NAGLE, Kt. To Sir James Cotter, Knt., Brigadier of His Majesty's Army."

A further communication from Tyrconnell to Sir James Cotter is given in R. F. Cronnelly's *Irish Family History*, Part II., as follows, viz., an " Order to cause MacCarthy More's Regiment to march to Limerick. By his Grace, Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland :—You are to cause the Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel Charles MacCarty More forthwith to march to this City of Limerick, according to the direction of the enclosed Order, which you are to deliver him. Given at Limerick the 29th day of July, 1691."

Of a more interesting nature is the correspondence between Sir James Cotter and Sir Richard Cox, published in his *History of Cork* by Mr. Gibson, who considered that it did equal honour to the head and heart of both, Sir James Cotter's reply, being, he considered, " a beautiful stroke of wit."

"Cork, July 6th, 1691.

Sir—Upon the score of our former acquaintance and the civility which you have used to our friends whilst you were Governor here and since, I think myself obliged to let you know that I have both station and inclination to serve you. If it should happen that you

throw yourself upon me without capitulation (for your party is certainly ruined, and will every minute decay), you shall undoubtedly be used as a man of honour; but if you are of this opinion, bring off as many as you can, and their arms, because your terms will be so much the better. This will seem odd if you don't apprehend the case desperate; but because I am sure 'tis so, therefore you have this friendly advertisement from, Sir, your very affec. friend and servant,
To the Hon. Sir James Cotter those." RICHARD COX.

"Sir—Notwithstanding our former acquaintance, it seems you do not know me. Whatever I might have done with sitting still, when laid aside, in civilities—which for justice sake I distributed without distinction—I am now convinced and will, I doubt not, be in a condition to return your kindness; for really your case is so desperate that you will soon have an occasion for it, and be confident that in anything that is just you will find me, Sir, your very affec. friend and servant,
JAMES COTTER.

Give, I pray you, my services to all old acquaintances."

Sir James Cotter, however, had ultimately to sue for protection, which was freely granted to him by Baron Ginkel, Earl of Athlone, and Baron Aughrim (whose title became extinct on the death of the 10th Earl at the Hague, on May 21st, 1844).

The following is Mr. Gibson's copy of this Protection:—(Seal.) "By his Excel. Lt.-Genll. Ginckel, Commander-in-Chief of Their Ma'ties' Forces in Ireland. Whereas, Sir James Cotter, of Ballysperrig, alias Cotter's Lodge, in the County of Corke, Knight, is by the late Capitulation with the Irish Army, entitled to his real and personal estate. And, whereas, he made suit to us for Our protection, for himself and his family, servants and tenants, his and their houses, household stuff, stock, black cattle, horses, sheep, corn and goods, and also one license for him and his servants to keep, carry and make use of, for the defence of his person, house and goods, three cases of pistols, three fusees, and three swords, We do hereby take the said Sir James Cotter, with his family, servants, stock, tenants, and his and their real and personal estates, into their Majesties' protection. And do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and others of their Majesties' subjects to suffer and permit him, with his servants, horses and arms, to travel about his lawful occasions (sic) into any part of this Kingdom. And We do hereby license him and his servants to use, carry and keep the said arms; and all persons are hereby required not to molest him or his servants in the quiet enjoyment of his, the said Sir James Cotter's, real or personal estate, at their peril. Given at the Camp before Limerick this 9th of 8br.—BAR. DE GINCKELL."

In face of the above formal document it will hardly be contended that the statement made in Froude's *English in Ireland*, vol. i., page 479, that Sir James Cotter was unprotected by the Articles of Limerick, is an accurate one.

The granting of this serviceable Protection to one who was so prominent an adherent of the fallen monarch, James the Second, was doubtless due to the high reputation Sir James Cotter had acquired through his honourable treatment of the Williamite party whilst he was Governor of Cork and of the Great Island near it. Of this last we have ample testimony

in the following documents given in Gibson's *Cork*, copied apparently from Tuckey's *Cork Remembrancer* :—

1. "We, the under-named, of the City of Cork, do declare that during Sir James Cotter's being Governor of the said City and County, the Protestants thereof did receive all manner of countenance and favour from him; and that instead of being confined or imprisoned upon all alarms, as we were by his predecessors and successors in that Government, he desired all of us as were by them turned out of the City and our houses to come into them again; and that during his Government there should be no such hardship put upon us, which he justly performed, for which reason, and no other that we could either know or hear of, he hath (to our great prejudice) been removed, being by the French faction represented as not fit to be trusted where any Protestants were. All of which we hold ourselves obliged to certify, under our hands at Corke, this ninth day of December, 1691.

"DANIEL CRONE, Mayor.

"P. RENEU,

"SAMUEL LOVE, } Concil.

"WALTER NEALE, Rect. & Vic., St.
Mary Shandon, and Vic. Gen.
of Corke & Rosse.

"JOHN CARR.

"WILLIAM ROBERTS.

"JOHN GILLMAN.

"ULICK GREENE.

"FRA. ROGERS.

"EDMOND HAMON."

2. "I must acknowledge that we received the above-mentioned kindnesses from Sir James Cotter, and more than above-mentioned; but as to the reasons of his being removed I know nothing.

"E. CORKE & ROSSE."

[This last signature was that of Bishop Wetenham, whose portrait appeared in the *Journal* for October-December, 1906.]

3. "Sir James Cotter did carry himself with much kindness towards the English in the late times, and I believe the other particulars to be true.

"F. P. POMEROY, Dean.

"EDW. SYNGE, Rect. & Vic. of Christ
Ch., Corke."

4. "I do hereby certify that when I, together with Mr. Will. Southwell and Mr. Simon Griffith, was sent prisoner from off the French fleet in the Harbour of Corke, to Sir James Cotter, Governor of the said City, that the said Sir James did use me and the other two gentlemen with all the humanity and kindness he was able, notwithstanding our being under sentence for treason against the then Government; and that he ventured to favour us and be kind to us beyond our hopes and reasonable expectations. All of which I certify under my hand this 12th day of May, 1692.

"CHARLES NORTHCOTE, Clergyman."

Even so partisan a writer as the Rev. John Graham speaks favourably in his *Ireland Preserved*, page 274, Dublin, 1841, of Sir James Cotter, who, he says, "though not at the siege of Derry, nor nearer to it than Lisnaskea, where he shared in the disaster of Lord Mountcashel, was a very conspicuous person in the Civil War and a member of the Church of Rome. His name is well known to those acquainted with the history of the time in which he lived, and is still remembered and respected in the South of Ireland."

Ballinsperrig House (now named Annegrove, and owned by the

Gubbins family), in which Sir James Cotter lived in succession to his father, and doubtless died in, stands about two miles west of Carrigtwohill. There is a tradition, notes Mr. Gibson, that James the Second stayed there—a tradition which gains support from an elegy written on the death of Sir James Cotter, in which it is called "The Palace of James." In an inventory of the household furniture at Ballinsperrig, taken after his death, figures "a velvet bed with gold brocade," that in which King James is supposed to have slept. This bed was afterwards given or sold to Lord Barrymore and was burnt at the fire that occurred at Barryscourt.

James II. landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1689, and on the 14th proceeded to Cork, where he was detained about a week for want of horses and baggage carts. It was during this interval probably that he visited Ballinsperrig. In Crofton Croker's *Irish Narratives*, 1641 and 1690," a tradition is likewise mentioned that King James II. visited Barryscourt, which is close to Carrigtwohill, about the same time.

"In the old parish church of Carrigtwohill is a monument of Italian marble erected to the memory of Sir James Cotter," writes Mr. Gibson, copying from Dr. Smith's *Cork*; but this monument was actually erected by Sir James Cotter himself seventeen years before his death, as the inscription on it plainly indicates—

"This monument was erected by Sr. James Cotter, Kt., for himselfe and his family, Anno Domino 1688. Edmond Cotter, Esq., of Ballinsperie, died A.D. 1660."

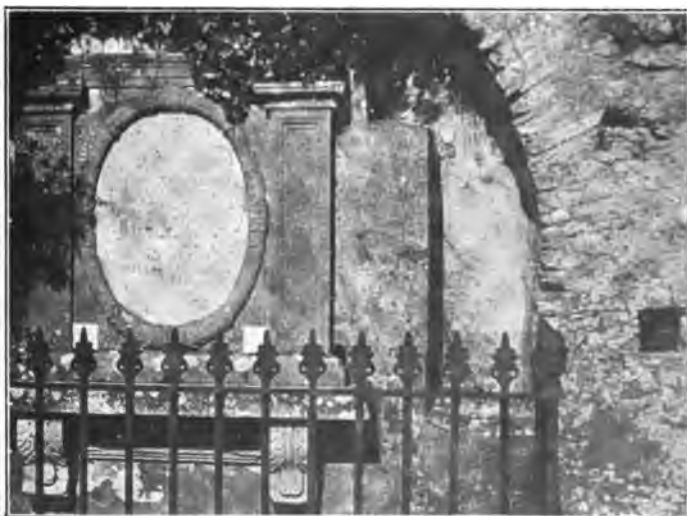
This Cotter monument, when seen by the present writer in March, was in good preservation, in spite of its age and exposure to the weather. It appears to have been first set up within what was probably the pre-Reformation church of Carrigtwohill, whose tower still remains, in one of the bays at its north side. On part of the site of this old church a more modern Protestant church was erected, leaving portions of the old church east and west of it to go entirely to decay, so that the Cotter monument has no longer any overhead protection. This second church has been replaced by a still smaller one, built close to it on the north in 1905. But the ancient tower happily remains, to the left of which is the Cotter monument. In Dr. Caulfield's *Annals of Cloyne Cathedral* it is stated that the Dean and Chapter confirmed to him in 1703 a grant of his burying-place, which was doubtless that just described. The same work gives the date of his second marriage as July, 1689. It seems probable that in early life Sir James Cotter was a Protestant; but there can be little doubt that he was a Catholic at the time of his death, and that his children were brought up Catholics till that event occurred.

Of his life when he had peaceably settled down at Ballinsperrig, after the accession of William III., no particulars are forthcoming, but that he continued to win popularity amongst the humbler class of his countrymen is evident from the fact that William MacCartan, one of the numerous Munster Gaelic bards of that period, wrote in July, 1700, a poetical address to Sir James Cotter, in which he praises his valour and generosity to literary men, a copy of which address is said to be preserved among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum.

It was Sir James Cotter's son and namesake that afterwards met with such a tragic end, who, as stated in Froude's *English in Ireland*, vol. i., page 481 (1881), "being fifteen years old at his father's death, was placed,



ANNLGROVE.
(Photo by Mr. G. Thompson, 1908.)



COTTER MONUMENT, CARRIGTWOHILL.
(Photo by Mr. G. Thompson, 1908.)

in compliance with the Popery Act, under the guardianship of a Protestant relative, one of the Nettervilles. He was stolen, however, by his Catholic friends, and afterwards, whilst still a minor, married to the daughter of George Mathews, a Catholic also."

This incident is related with more fullness, and seemingly more accuracy, in Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i., page 291, London, 1878, in this wise:—"A Catholic gentleman named Sir John (sic) Cotter died, leaving an estate in the Co. Cork and three minor children, the eldest being about fifteen years old. The very day of his funeral the eldest son was sent privately to England with a Catholic gentleman named Galway, to be educated in his own faith. The Protestants at once called the attention of the Chancellor to the evasion, and he appointed a certain Alderman Chartres guardian to the minors, and compelled Galway to surrender the infant. Great efforts were then made to change the guardian, and at last a petition, alleging, as it is said falsely, that the minors were destitute of a guardian, and begging that a Protestant gentleman named Netterville might be appointed, was successful. Netterville became guardian, and he left the actual care of the children in the hands of Galway. The House (i.e., the Irish House of Commons), however, determined to prevent, if possible the repetition of such an evasion. It "resolved that any Protestant guardian that permits a Papist to educate or dispose of his ward, does thereby betray the trust reposed in him, evade the law, and propagate Popery; that any Papist who shall take upon him to manage and dispose of the substance and person of any infant committed to a Protestant guardian, is guilty of notorious breach of the law; and that it is the indispensable duty of Protestant guardians to take the persons of these wards out of the custody of their Papist relations." Netterville was summoned before the House, censured and bound over to educate the minors Protestants, and Galway was ordered into custody. "It is probable," adds Mr. Lecky, "that no small amount of property passed in this manner into Protestant hands," i.e., owing to the law then in force, that if a Catholic gentleman died leaving his children minors, these children were to be taken from their Catholic relatives and brought up Protestants.

The law, in spite of all its power and persistency, failed, however, to make a Protestant of James Cotter, whose unhappy end was described by Colonel Lunham in the *Journal* for April-June, 1904. He married, as already stated, the daughter of George Mathew, of Thurles, by his wife, Mary Aldworth, half-sister of the celebrated Dean Davies. This Mr. Mathew, states Dr. Caulfield in the *Diary*, appears to have been a Roman Catholic; and though Mr. Cotter was known to be a violent partisan on the same side as his father, yet Dean Davies addressed some kind letters to him, which, Dr. Caulfield adds, were (in 1857) still or lately extant.

This James Cotter's son, the Knight's grandson, was brought up a Protestant, and became the first Baronet in the family. It was during his minority that the lawsuit referred to in the early portion of this paper took place. But as an account of it was given in the *Journal*, page 62, March, 1894, it will suffice to say here that Laurence Cotter, brother of James Cotter, who was executed in May, 1720, appeared on behalf of his nephew, the future baronet, to have the original lease of 151 years, above mentioned, duly established. This was opposed by James, Earl Barrymore,

on the ground that the original lease in question became void by a subsequent one, drawn up in 1668, for 41 years. James Cotter, it appears, had denied the existence of this latter lease, but directed his wife to deliver the same to a Popish priest, who attended him at his execution. His widow soon after his death married again one Martin Spring, who, finding the concealed writings where the said deceased James Cotter had left them, gave them up to Earl Barrymore's agent in July, 1723, as James Cotter seemingly had intended. This lawsuit ended in a compromise, by which the lease of 151 years was waived, and the Cotters were allowed to retain their Great Island property until the expiration of the 41 years' lease in the year 1737.

The Cotter property till last year comprised 8,000 acres, including Ballyheterig farm on the Great Island, which was sold in October last by the present Baronet to the occupying tenant, Mr. Jas. MacCarthy, and thus has ended the Cotters' centuries-old connection with the Great Island. James Cotter's widow, who married secondly Martin Spring, sold Ballinsperrig to its original owner's descendants, the Barrys, Earls of Barrymore, and Rockforest became the family residence, which had belonged to them, since the tenth year of Queen Elizabeth, when it was purchased from Lord Roche.⁸

Sir James Laurence Cotter, the Knight's grandson, who was created a Baronet on the 11th of August, 1763, had married in 1746 the widowed daughter of Lord Chief Justice Sir John Rogerson, whose first husband, Colonel Causabon, Dr. Caulfield mentions in the Diary, was Bailiff of Youghal in 1671-2. The Causabon family were afterwards of Carrig, a mansion still standing opposite to Rockforest. In 1715 William Causabon, of Carrig, was M.P. for Doneraile.⁹

Sir James Laurence Cotter's son and namesake, born in 1748, succeeded him as second Baronet in 1770. He was High Sheriff for Cork County in 1781, M.P. for Mallow in 1783, and for Castlemartyr in 1790, and he was Colonel of the Mallow Militia. He was a banker in Cork, head of the house of Cotter and Kellett, the story of whose unfortunate bank and its disastrous failure was told by Mr. C. M. Tenison in Volume I., page 246, of this *Journal*. He died October 9th, 1829. In James

⁸ After its sale, Richard, the second last Lord Barrymore of the original peerage, lived here, of whom the following curious anecdote, characteristic of his habits, is told in Brash's "Antiquities of Buttevant," published in the "Kilkenny Arch. Journal" for 1855:—"When residing at Annegrove a tradesman creditor called for the payment of a large amount. The Earl ordered lunch for him and plied him with hospitable attention, and to amuse him called him to look out at a half-naked man, whom some dozen stalwart peasants were preparing to duck in the pond. Inquiring what his offence was, the Earl informed him that he was a rascally dun, and that he had a number of that same class tied in an outhouse to be similarly treated. The creditor took the hint and disappeared without asking for his debt.

Tuckey's "Remembrancer" names the Hon. John S. Barry, of Annegrove, as High Sheriff for the Co. Cork in 1770.

⁹ In a recently published volume issued by the Historical Manuscripts' Commission appeared a letter written by the first Baronet before getting that title to Lord George Sackville, dated February 18th, 1755, as follows:—"I would give any reasonable sum for a seat in Parliament, and am satisfied to deposit £1,000 with any person Lord Middleton will appoint for this purpose, with the condition only of being re-elected in case his Majesty should die in five years." Rogerson Cotter, who was M.P. for Cork in 1783, and James Cotter, M.P. for Mallow in 1812, were doubtless brother and son of the second baronet.

Roche's *Essays of an Octogenarian* it is stated that this Sir James Cotter's name was associated with the banking firm of Cotter and Kellett for an annual stipend of £500, but that he never interfered in its management, or appeared in the business proceedings of the bank, and that he succeeded Sir Rigges Faulkner (whose baronetcy still exists), not as an active, but as a sleeping partner.

Sir James Laurence Cotter, son of the 3rd Baronet by his wife, daughter and co-heiress of James Lombard of Lombardstown, Co. Cork, was born at Cork in 1828, and succeeded his father as Baronet in 1834. He died in 1902, and was succeeded by his grandson and namesake, the present and fifth Baronet,¹⁰ born in 1887, who possesses as an heirloom a gold watch which belonged to his famous ancestor, Sir James Cotter, Knight.

It is remarkable what a large number of clergymen the Cotter family of Rockforest has given to the Protestant Church of Ireland. The first Baronet's youngest son, the Rev. George Sackville Cotter, was Rector of Ightermurragh and author of two volumes of poems published at Cork in 1788. He died in 1831.

His son, the Rev. Joseph Rogerson Cotter, Prebendary of Donoughmore, was very musical, and invented a large bass instrument, which he named the Basso-Hibernicon. He was married three times; had two children by his first wife, and eight sons and eight daughters by his second wife. He wrote tracts, poems and eight other works, whose titles are given in Dr. Brady's *Records*, vol. ii. page 192. He died in February, 1868, and was buried at Carrigtwohill. Four of his sons became clergymen. Three of them went to England, one of whom appears to be the Rev. Joseph Rogerson Cotter, author of *New and Partially New Words to Popular Songs*, Cork, 1822, and of *The Second Advent of Christ: a Poem*, London, 1862. He was Rector of St. Mary Magdalene's, Colchester, in 1892.

The Rev John Rogerson Cotter, second son of the 2nd Baronet by Isabella, widow of George Brereton, was Rector of Innishannon, and died of famine fever early in 1847. His younger brother, the Rev. George Edmond Cotter, was Curate of Rahan, and from 1851 Rector and Vicar of Monaninny till his death, aged 84 years, in 1879. He was author of some small pamphlets and tracts.

The Rev. J. L. Cotter, LL.D., Vicar of Buttevant, who was buried there on the 26th of September, 1850, aged 68, appears to be the Rev. Dr. Cotter who was author of *Sacred and Instructive Poetry*, Cork, 1834, and of *Ellen and Francesco: a Brazilian Tale in Verse*, Cork, 1850. This latter poem had probably its origin in the fact that a member of this family took out a large party of Irish emigrants to the Brazils in the early part of the last century. He was also a son of the Rev. George Sackville Cotter, Rector of Ightermurragh (Castlemartyr), who was the fourth son of the first baronet. A son of this Rev. James Laurence Cotter, LL.D., is the Rev. William Henry Cotter, LL.D., until recently Rector of Buttevant, and a native of that place.

Another scion of this family, the Rev. G. R. Cotter, of Donoughmore,

¹⁰ It is somewhat curious to find that the question of his religion whilst a minor led to an application to the Law Courts, consequent on his mother's marriage to Dr. O'Connor, a Catholic. Guarantees having been given that the young baronet and his brother's religion would not be interfered with, the suit ended amicably.

was author of *Miscellaneous Letters : Essays on Events in Ireland*, Dublin, 1882, and there are several other clergymen besides who belonged to it, whose names will be found in Brady's *Records* and in the Rev. J. H. Cole's continuation of that work, whence the foregoing particulars are chiefly gleaned. The R. Cotter, M.D., author of *The Fables of Esop in Latin Hexameter Verses*, Dublin, 1833, probably belonged to this family, and also the James Cotter, of Buttevant, author of *Poetry and Epitaphs*, Cork, 1834.

It is said that the eldest son of the existing Baronet of Rockforest becomes a Knight on attaining his majority; but whether any instances have actually occurred of father and son being thus entitled to write "Sir" before their names the present writer is unable to state. They have given their name to Cotterborough, a locality in the vicinity of Rockforest, to which manor, in the 36th year of Charles the Second's reign, was granted a market and two fairs, with a court of *pie poudre*, none of which are now held. In Rockforest, which is one of the finest mansions in the Co. Cork, is a good collection of fine old portraits, including one of Major Mathew, whose daughter was married to the Knight's son. He was nephew of the great Duke of Ormond, and appears in armour in this picture. There is also the portrait of a Mr. Nagle, son or nephew of the Sir Richard Nagle above-mentioned. He was brought up under James II. at the Court of Versailles, and was a cousin of the Cotters. No portrait it known to exist of Sir James Cotter, the famous Knight, who was, beyond doubt, the most renowned member of this ancient Co. Cork family—the Cotters of Rockforest.

J. C.

A History of the O'Mahony Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha.

(Continued from page 192, Vol. XIII.)

BY REV. CANON O'MAHONY, GLENNVILLE, CROOKSTOWN.

PART III.

From the Accession of Mahon (A.D. 1014) to the Division of the Sept
after A.D. 1212.

Mahon (*Maṡṡamahāin*), son of Cian and Sabia, daughter of Brian, who were married soon after the Battle of Bealach Leachta, A.D. 978,¹ may have been about thirty-four years of age when he succeeded his father in A.D. 1014. The first who is recorded as having borne the name of Mahon was Brian's elder brother, and it is not unlikely that the son of Cian was called

¹ The compiler of the (Dublin) "Annals of Innisfallen" (circa 1760) has the following under the year 978:—"Peace was made between Brian and Cian, and Sadhbh, the daughter of Brian, was given in marriage to Cian, and the tributes of the race of Eoghan Mor, and his (Cian's) hereditary portion from Cork to Carn Ui Neid, until Saerbretach should come to the sovereignty." The concluding portion of this entry affords another instance of this Annalist's habit (which O'Donovan often refers to) of manipulating facts mentioned in ancient records that he had access to, so as to make

after him as a further token of reconciliation with Brian. As the *riġdāma*, or heir apparent of the Chief of the Ui Eachach, Mahon must, as a matter of course, have taken part in the eventful Battle of Clontarf. In every military expedition undertaken by a Tribe, the presence of the Tanist or heir apparent was as indispensably required as that of the Chief himself. This we learn from a multitude of passages in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and other Annals in which the *riġdāma* is mentioned among the slain. It will be remembered that at Clontarf the youthful heir of Murchadh, though scarcely of an age to bear arms, was in the fighting line.

When the Cinel Laeghere Branch of the Tribe, in or about A.D. 1015, migrated to Magunihy in Kerry, Mahon and his Branch, the Cinel Aedha, were left in undisputed possession of the entire Eoghanacht Ui Eachach, or Eoghanacht Raithleann. He is called in the *Leabhar Oiris*, "*Ri na naoi ōíonn*, King (Chief) of the nine territories." Investigation will show that this title implies an expansion of the Tribe-land beyond its limits in the ninth and tenth centuries, as described in the introductory portion of this history. To determine its extent in Mahon's time, we must call to mind that in ancient Ireland (and in England also, as Mr. Green has shown in his *Making of England*) Dioceses were as a rule conterminous with the tribal limits. The Ui Eachach Sept-land was the original Diocese of Cork, as Corcalee, the patrimony of O'Driscoll, was identified with the Diocese of Ross, Ui Fidhgenti with the Diocese of Limerick, the Kingdom of Meath with the extensive Diocese of Meath,² and "there is evidence that since the introduction of Christianity Mac Giolla Padruig's land of Osraighe never extended beyond the bounds of the present Diocese of Ossory." (O'Donovan, Notes to O'Heerin.)

Hence the old ecclesiastical arrangements, whenever better known, help us to reconstruct tribal limits and vice versa. "The boundary between Ely O'Carroll and ancient Meath," says O'Donovan (Notes to O'Heerin, p. lxxiv.), "is determined by that of the Diocese of Killaloe and the Diocese of Meath."

The Diocese of Cork, according to the Synod of Rathbreasil, which was held about 70 or 80 years after Mahon's death, extending "from Cork to Carn Ui Néid, and from the Abhain Mor (Blackwater) to the southern sea." The Ui Eachach tribe land, as has been already proved by many testimonies, had the same eastern and western boundaries, and, that its northern and southern limits also coincided with those of the Diocese, is a justifiable inference from the numerous examples above quoted to show the relation of Tribeland and Diocese in ancient Ireland. The inference is confirmed by the ancient quatrain preserved by Smith, which gives "the Paps on the North and the Southern Main" as the limits of the Sept-land in the time of "Flan, a predecessor of Bece."

them accord with a theory of his own. It is simply incredible that the ambitious Brian ever contemplated that anyone outside his own family should obtain the sovereignty of Munster, which he had won by a severe struggle. In the contentions, already narrated from every available source, that occurred after Brian's death, no one thought of Saerbretach, either in connection with Munster or Desmond; he lived and died in obscurity, being mentioned only in genealogical lists. The compiler was under the influence of the prominent position obtained by Saerbretach's posterity in the twelfth century.

² Formed by a union of older Dioceses within the bounds of Meath.

The sub-denominations of the Tribe-land naturally became the "Decanatus" or Deaneries of the Diocese, and from the account of those Deaneries taken at a Government Inquisition in 1615 from the old "rolls of the Diocese of Cork," which had come into the possession of Bishop Lyons (State Papers, A.D. 1588), we can recover the names of most of the "nine territories" (ἑπτὰ ὀρίσματα) over which Mahon ruled. The Deaneries were seven—Kinelea, divided into Kinelea Citra and Kinelea Ultrá (this latter identified with Kinelmeky); Kerricurrihy, Kilmughan or Iflanloe (ἡ Ἰφλανλόε), Clanshealvy, Fonn-Iartharach, and the city, with its suburban parishes. Kinelea Ultra included "Ringrone, Killanay, Kilgobbin, Particula Gortnagross Templetryne, Rathclarine, Burrin, Kilbrittain, Rathdroutha, Dowagh alias Ballinady, Kilmodan alias Ballymodan, Knockavilly, St. Martin's (i.e., Templemartin), Innishannon, Kilbrogan, St. Michael's de Dowagh." This corresponds with O'Heerin's Kinelmeky, extending to "the harbour of white foam." But Kinelmeky, when these ecclesiastical divisions were made, was only a tribal and not yet a territorial name; otherwise it would have given its name to this Deanery called Kinelea Ultra. The Deaneries of Kinelea (Citra) and Kerricurrihy are the Baronies at present designated by the same names. Clanshealvy (Clann t-Sealbhagh) included the parishes from Kinneigh to Drimoleague, with Ballymoney and Murragh. The Deanery of Kilmughan (otherwise "Iflanloe") comprised Athnowen and Inchageela and the parishes that lie between them. The Deanery of Fonn-Iartharach ("western land"), erroneously given as "Foueragh" in the document of 1615, contained the six western parishes, already mentioned in the Introduction. (*Cork Hist. and Arch. Journal*, Oct.-Dec., 1906, p. 191).

Kerricurrihy at the close of the ninth century was a district with a chief of its own, "Fogarthach the Wise," who was slain in the battle of Ballaghmuighna, in which Cormac Mac Cuilenan, King of Cashel, was defeated, in 903 (*Annals Four M.*). But it must have been subsequently annexed, or at least made tributary, by the Ui Eachach Chiefs. Place names derived from Mahon are conclusive on that point. Lough Mahon (Λοῦς Ματθαῖου), at the eastern boundary, was probably so called from being the meeting place of the fleet of ships for which Mahon's tribe was noted in the time of King Brian. Ring Mahon (Ῥίνν Ματθαῖου), "Mahon's headland," was at one time the name of a parish containing eight ploughlands. There was also a Carrigmahon.

Corcach (Cork), for many centuries the eastern boundary of the tribe-land, had become a part of it in the time of Cian and Mahon. The locality in which St. Finbar established his monastery, the nucleus of the future city, was according to the ancient Irish "Life of Barra," chapt. xiii., in the district of the Uibh Iair. These were a kindred tribe, being the descendants of the youngest son of Corc, king of Munster, Iar, about whom the *Annals* are silent, though his name is preserved in the genealogical lists in the Books of Leinster and Ballymote. But in the eleventh century Corcach had become dependent for protection on the Ui Eachach; in Cian's time in the year 1012 they went to the rescue of the city when being burned by the Danes, and Cathal, son of Donal, son of Duvdavoren, distinguished himself by killing the leaders of the foreigners. Again, as we shall see later on, in the time of the grandson of Mahon, in 1088, the Clan saved the city from an incursion of the Leinster Danes. It cannot be supposed

that, at such a period, Corcach was independent of the neighbouring Chief, on whom it had to rely for protection.

As Kinelea, though ecclesiastically divided, was one tribal sub-denomination, we can make out only six of the "nine territories" from the seven Deaneries enumerated. A seventh territory would be Musgrylin (MURGHARDE FLAINN or FLOINN³), a Deanery, comprising a number of parishes between the Blackwater and the Lee, belonging to the original Diocese of Cork (according to the Synod of Rathbreasil), but attached to Cloyne subsequently. There remain two territories unidentified. Hence it may be concluded that Mahon must have acquired two other districts outside his old hereditary Sept-land and outside the Diocese of Cork. Where are we to look for these? Perhaps some light is thrown on the question by the place-name Dunmahon, and by the tradition mentioned by Smith in the following passage of his *History of Cork* (p. 320, New Ed.):—"To the west of Fermoy lies Carriganedy, i.e., the rock of the shield, where stood a castle (qu. Dun?), said to have been built by the Mahonys."

During the Chieftainship of Mahon, in the year 1024, occurred the death, by assassination, of a remarkable man, Cuan O'Lochan, Ollamh and Chronicler, who in both capacities was long associated with Rath Rathleann, near which a special residence⁴ was appropriated to him by Cian. His death is recorded by several Annalists, and by the *Leabhar Oiris* in the following terms:—A.D. 1024. Cuan⁵ O'Lochain apóite asur peandáirde Céim mic Maolmuaidh do marbáir. "This year was killed Cuan O'Lochan, chief File and Chronicler of Cian, son of Maolmuadh." This distinguished Ollamh left Rathleann some time after his patron's death, and is said to have been acknowledged as a regent or administrator of the kingdom of Ireland, after the death of Malachy, for two years. "It can hardly be said that his work was cut short, for more than 1,600 lines from his hand have come down to us. He was one of the most famous of a group of famous men belonging to the tenth and eleventh centuries, distinguished in their day as genealogists, chroniclers, and poets, whose voluminous productions have survived to our own time." (*Text Book of Irish Literature*, by Miss Hull, p. 170.)

Under the year 1028 the death of Mahon is entered as follows in the *Leabhar Oiris*:—"Maetghamain, mac Céim, mic Maolmuaidh, Rí na naoi b-foinn, asur Maolpeclann goir, Rí Míre o'fagbail Daír, anno Domini 1028." "Mahon, son of Cian, son of Maolmuadh, King of the nine territories, and Maolsechlann The Stammerer, King of Meath, died." The Four Masters give 1038 as the date of Mahon's death, but, for a reason already assigned, the *Leabhar Oiris* should be regarded as a preferable authority on South Munster affairs.

³ Muskry Flainn or Floin (varieties of spelling) originally included "Ifflonloe" as well as the Deanery "Musgrylin." The Flan mentioned in the Irish quatrain preserved in Smith ("Hist. of Cork," new Ed., p. 14) as a predecessor of Bece (a quo Kinelmeky) as having conquered the entire of Muskerry is identified with Criomphthán (Criffan) Rí Rathleann, the father of Aedh and Leaghère, ancestors of the two branches of the Uí Eachach. This is clear from a stanza in the "*Leabhar Oiris*" version of the topographical poem on Rath Rathleann:—

"Cínet Laegeine mic fíloinn."

Criomphthán, therefore, the father of Aedh and Laeaghère, must have borne also the name of "Fíloinn" or "Flan."

⁴ See Topographical Poem already given in this "Journal," vol. xiii., No. 73, p. 31.

⁵ O'Lothcain in "Annals Four M."

Sabia survived her son three years. The (original) Annals of Innisfallen, year 1831, have the entry: "Sadhb ingen Uíriam do ecc." "Sadhbh (pr. Soyve), daughter of Brian, died." The *Leabhar Oiris*, which gives fuller information than the Annals of Innisfallen about the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries, ends with the death of Mahon.

It was reserved for this Chieftain that his name should be borne as a surname by his posterity, and, eventually (in the course of centuries), by the entire Sept, which included, of course, families descended from his cousins and remote relatives. In his time each member of an Irish tribe had, like an ancient Greek or Hebrew, only one name, and was distinguished from others by mentioning the name of his father and grandfather. People grew impatient of this cumbrous arrangement, and a widespread preference was manifested for an unalterable surname towards the beginning of the twelfth century in Ireland and (a curious coincidence) in the same century in England also. It would be a mistake to assert (what has been often asserted) that the Irish families deliberately selected the name of their principal ancestor to be a surname; it is not improbable that they began to be called after a certain ancestor by their neighbours,⁶ and that they themselves gradually adopted the patronymic thus applied to them. Had Mahon's descendants made a selection, the name chosen would assuredly be that of Cian. Mahon, Cathrach (from whom M'Carthy), Donchadh (from whom O'Donoghue)—to give a few out of many possible examples—were not the principal ancestors in their respective lines. And some families supposed to be called after their principal ancestor were in reality called after a descendant and namesake of his.

Mahon's name was also used in his Clan as a praenomen or Christian name, but, in the Anglicizing period, it was altered to Matthew. Maolmuadh was in more frequent use down to the 17th century, and even since in some Kerry families, altered into Myles. But the praenomen that was in most frequent use was Cian,⁷ fairly well Anglicized into Kean; some degenerate descendants have had the bad taste to change it into "Cain."

Mahon's son and successor was Brodchon. Dr. O'Donovan calls him Brodchu. As the name Brodchon was used as a genitive ("Mac Brodchon") in the genealogical list, he inferred by analogy a nominative Brodchu, but it would seem inaccurately. The word is apparently indeclinable, judging from the language of the entry, which we shall quote presently, from the (Dublin) Annals of Innisfallen. The only record that has come down to us about this Chief relates his participation in one of those deplorable inter-tribal feuds that had become more frequent than ever during the century and a half subsequent to the Battle of Clontarf. The entry referred to is:—"A.D. 1072. *Sluaig le Uíbrochon mac Mat-*

⁶ There can be little doubt that in this way originated many English surnames—(1) residential, as John at the Well (Atwell), William at the Wood, Thomas at the Field, Richard at the Townend, etc.; and (2) nicknames turned into surnames, as Hogg, Heavy-side, Coward, Smallman, etc., acquiesced in rather than selected by their unlucky possessors.

⁷ The families who retained this Christian name, when it had been dropped by others, were known as "Kean Mahonys," or "Mahony Keans," and, eventually, many of these became known as Keane, the original name being quite forgotten, as McDonogh McCarthys became McDonoghs and Dennehy's, and the descendants of a Brian McSwiney, Brians and O'Brians.

ḡarḡna, mac Céin, mac Maolmuadh, mic ḡroin, anḡna ḡéirḡ, &c., &c.”
 “A hosting by Brodchon, son of Mahon, son of Cian, son of Maolmuadh, son of Bron, into the Decies, from which he carried off much booty to recover which there was a pursuit by the people of Magh Feine, and an engagement followed, in which Mudan O'Driscoll, Chief of Corcalee, was slain, and many others on both sides.” There was an old feud between South Munster and the Decies, and in Cian's time, as was shown in a previous page, from the *Leabhar Oiris*, the people of the Decies were the aggressors. As Brodchon was the leader of this expedition and other Chiefs followed his standard, he is thus shown to have kept up the leading position held by his father and his grandfather Cian, in Desmond. From the series of ancestors who are attached to his name in the above entry, it is evident that surnames had not yet come into use in his Clan, 1072. The statement made in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, that he was the first called “O'Mahon,” is inaccurate; such an appellation in his time would mean grandson of Mahon.

The year 1088 was a memorable one in the records of the Ui Eachach Mumhan. In that year the Sept performed its most notable military exploit, the defeat of a formidable combination of the Norsemen organised to plunder Cork. That city had enjoyed a respite from such attacks ever since A.D. 1012, when Cian's Clan came to its rescue—too late to prevent the burning, but in time to retaliate severely on the invaders. The burning of Cork in 1087, not being attributed by the Annalists to an invading force, must be regarded as accidental; fires of accidental origin must have been of very frequent occurrence in ancient and mediæval times, when towns were (like London at the period of the Restoration), “built for the most part of wood and plaster.” (Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. i., c. 3.)

“In the year 1088,” say the Four Masters, “a great slaughter was made by the Ui Eachach Mumhan, of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, Loch Garman and Portlárge (Dublin, Wexford and Waterford) in the day that they jointly attempted to plunder Corcach Mumhan (Cork).”⁸ The fame of this exploit spread throughout Ireland, and the *Annals of Ulster* mention it in terms almost identical with those that have been just quoted. The victory was a crushing one and verified the ancient battle-cry of the Sept,⁹ “Lasair Romhainn a Buadh.” Had the foreigners succeeded, they would, most probably, have converted Cork into a well-fortified stronghold like Dublin, and continued to make predatory incursions into the surrounding country.¹⁰ All Desmond, and not Cork alone, was deeply interested in the result of the combat, which one tribe had the courage and the power to undertake:—

“Una domus vires et onus suscepit Urbis,
 Sumunt gentiles arma professa manus.”¹¹

⁸ Sir James Ware had followed some other ancient record, which gave 1089 as the date of this battle:—“Ostmanni Dublinii, Wickloae et Waterfordiae, dum conjunctis viribus Corcagiam diripere intenderent, ab Oneaghensibus in praelio fusi et profligati sunt.” Jacobi Waraei, *Equitis Aurati, Liber De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus*. Lord. 1658, 2nd Ed. Ware's “Oneaghenses” has been ridiculously translated “the Oneachys” by a writer in an old number of this “Journal.”

⁹ See the War Cries of the different Irish Septs, afterwards the mottoes of families, in a MS. of Theophilus O'Flanagan, in R. I. Academy.

¹⁰ In the next century the Danes came into Cork in the peaceful capacity of traders.

¹¹ *Ov. Fastorum Lib. II.*, 197.

It is improbable that the battle was fought in the vicinity of Cork. The Clan was able on this occasion to prevent the intended plundering, and not merely to retaliate on the plunderers after the injury was done, as in 1012. Now, it would not be possible to receive notice of the movements of the Danish ships, to muster a sufficient number of clansmen in the vicinity of the Chief's residence, and to reach Corcach, fifteen miles distant, before the Danes could have sailed up from the mouth of the harbour. It is more likely that it was in the heart of their tribeland that they intercepted the Danish forces, who may have followed the same course as their predecessors in the ninth century, when they¹² "ravaged Carbery and Muskerry, and a third went towards Corcach." They probably entered Kinsale Harbour and sailed up to Innishannon, intending to march through Kinelmeky and the valley of Muskerry on to Corcach, to which they would have sent round their ships. Certain it is that in the earlier part of the nineteenth century the tradition prevailed that a battle was fought between the Irish and the Danes at Castle na Leachta (Castle Lac) in Kinelmeky. In the field near the ruins of the old castle there are four pillar stones, whose number and traditional name (Leachta) indicate that the plain on which they stand was a battle-field. They are of considerable size, one being twelve feet high, another nine, and another six. They are of clay slate, a material not to be found in that red sandstone district, and must have been brought with much labour from a considerable distance to commemorate an event evidently deemed of no ordinary importance.¹³

In the following year, 1089, according to the (Dublin) *Annals of Innisfallen*, a combat took place between the Ui Eachach and Dermot O'Brien, with the result that "two hundred of Dermot's soldiers were slain." Dermot being at feud with his brother, Murchertach, King of Munster, whose Leinster enemies he openly joined in 1087, and being expelled from Thomond, may have sought to make a settlement for himself in Brodchon's tribe-land.

Brodchon, if alive in those years, would have been too old to take an active part in those two combats, and the office of leader would devolve on his son and successor, Cumara, who ruled the Clan from Brodchon's death to the beginning of the twelfth century. The claim to the sovereignty of Munster, which Cian had put forward after the Battle of Clontarf, was not renewed by the Chiefs who succeeded him. They acquiesced in the supremacy of the House of Brian, and consoled themselves with their privilege of exemption from tribute, recognised in the *Book of Rights*.¹⁴ So wrote

¹² "Wars of the Gael," p. 31. See also p. 7, "and they (the Danes) plundered Dundermuighe and Innis Eoganain," Dunderrow and Innishannon.

¹³ In Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary," published 1835, the writer of the article on Templemartin alludes to the tradition of the battle between the Irish and the Danes, but mis-states it completely in saying that the pillar stones were erected to commemorate the victory by the Danes in 868. Perhaps by a slip of the pen "by" was substituted for "over." The erection of pillar stones was an Irish, not a Danish, custom. Moreover, the Danes in their sudden forays for plunder would not remain in a hostile territory long enough to transport such huge masses of stone from a great distance. Tradition would not fix the date 868, which must be that writer's conjectural addition. His own theory of the Druidical origin of the stones is futile, and opposed to the still existing traditional name, Leachta, "sepulchral monuments."

¹⁴ See quotation from the *Leabhar na gceart* in p. 27. (Jan.-March No. of this "Journal," 1907.)

the Tribal Bard in some archaic verses, which must be referred to this period, and are preserved in MS. 23, G. 22, p. 49, and other MSS. (R. I. Academy):—

"*Ḑríat aḡi íb táit má cá ann, an lá vo éóig aḡi a éion
ní ḡfuil áct rin oḡta ann ḡáḡi ó ḡroin vā ḡcḡoma a éion.*"

"Though a Chief of the Ibh Tail (O'Briens) be in it (i.e., the sovereignty of Munster), the day that the offspring of Bron (i.e. an O'Mahon) goes to meet him, he has nothing to do but to salute by an inclination of the head."

The entry of Cumara's death is placed under the year 1091 in the (original) *Annals of Innisfallen*:—*Mac ḡroḡcon, hua Matḡamna vo maḡḡao, &c., &c.* "O'Mahon, the son of Brodchon, was killed¹⁵ treacherously by the son of Maolmuaidh,¹⁶ the son of Matudain." The above year corresponds with the year 1107; owing to the defective chronology¹⁷ adopted by the Innisfallen Annalists in the tenth and eleventh centuries, all events are ante-dated by sixteen years. "*ua Matḡamna*" is used in this entry as a true surname; if the Annalist meant "grandson of Mahon," he would have used the accustomed formula, "*Mac Mic Matḡamna,*" or *Mac ḡroḡcon mic Matḡamna.*"

In the same Annals the death of his successor, Donogh Donn, who in all probability was engaged, as being the *ḡḡḡamna*, in the two combats above mentioned, is recorded in the year 1102, recte 1118:—*Mac Mic ḡroḡcon, ua Matḡamna vo ecc.* He was succeeded by his son, Cian (A.D. 1118-1135), the third of his line who bore that name. In this Chieftain's first year commenced the decline of the Sept's predominance in South Munster. We shall, therefore, take occasion to recapitulate in a few brief sentences what has been proved regarding the position it held in Munster from the sixth to the twelfth century.

The posterity of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Corc, King of Munster, were the first to detach themselves from the main stock, and form a separate tribe, which established itself in the present County of Cork, while the other Eoghanachts were domiciled in Tipperary and part of Limerick. (See introductory chapter, p. 192, note.) The other families descended from Corc, through Aengus K.M. (ob. 489), were designated by the name of "Ui Aenghusa of the South," and under that name constituted one composite tribe in A.D. 862 (*Annals F.M.*). In it were the families that afterwards acquired the names of O'Sullivan (now known to be the senior of those families¹⁸), MacCarthy, &c., &c. The sovereignty of Munster down to the time of Brian and his brother Mahon continued to be the privilege of Corc's descendants, but

¹⁵ *Ḑríat ḡaogul* is curiously rendered by Dr. O'Connor (*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*), "*prae timore.*" The phrase occurs a few times in the "*Annals Four M.*," where O'Donovan translates it, "by an unfair advantage."

¹⁶ Not identified. The name, and its variety *Madadhan*, was a usual one in the North and in Connacht; there is also an instance of it among the *Dalcassians*. ("*Annals F. M.*," 1088).

¹⁷ See Dr. Todd's "*Wars of the Gael*," p. 240, note. Dr. O'Connor (*Rerum Hibern. Script. Vet.*) has the following note at A.D. 1022:—"Hi Annales Aeram Communem praecedunt annis 17." This refers to one particular entry; sixteen would represent the more usual discrepancy. The defects of their chronological system do not impair the credit of those Annals.

¹⁸ So O'Donovan and Duall MacFirbis have proved.

not of any one family¹⁹ among them; it was elective, not hereditary, and rarely was any King of Munster (immediately) succeeded by his son. Amongst those Kings of Munster were three of the Ui Eachach (one being of the Cinel Laeghere), and evidence has been given that the Chiefs of the Clan were lords of Desmond as far back as A.D. 845, and no ancestor of any other tribe can be shown to have been described by that title before A.D. 1118.

The families above mentioned as having been included under the name of the "Ui Aenghusa of the South" were for a half-century before, and about a half-century after, the date of the Battle of Clontarf, in a state of obscurity; they are not mentioned at all in the Annals of that period. But in the twelfth century one of them obtained a prominence that lasted for over four hundred years. Carthach, the ancestor of the M'Carthy's (ob. 1045, *Annals F.M.*), and his two successors, Donogh and Muirtheadhach (1092), lived and died Chiefs of Eoghanacht Cashel, which coincided with the Barony of Iffa and Offa²⁰ in Co. Tipperary. Such also was the designation of Tadhg, son of Carthach, until 1118. In that year Tadhg united with the "people of Desmond," or at least some section of them, in an attack on Brian, son of Murchad O'Brian, who was killed in the combat. Influenced by this evidence of Tadhg's hostility to the O'Briens, Turlough O'Connor, King of Connacht, their arch-enemy, when he had successfully invaded Munster, that same year, divided it into two independent provinces, raising Tadhg to the position of King of Desmond. Tadhg, however, appears to have never come to live in the South, but ended his days in Eoghanacht Cashel (*Annals F.M.*, 1124). Turlough O'Connor restored Tadhg's race when "expelled from Desmond in 1139," and in 1151 Dermot (King of Desmond at the time of the Norman Invasion) "assumed the sovereignty of Desmond, by the help of the Connacht men." (*Annals F.M.*, the latter clause accidentally omitted in O'Donovan's translation.)

But the Chiefs of South Munster did not acquiesce without a struggle in O'Connor's arrangement. Cormac, the successor of Tadhg, was expelled by the Ui Eachach in 1126. So says the (Bodleian) *Annals of Innisfallen* under the year 1110 (recte 1126):—"Cormac, grandson of Carthach, was expelled by the Ui Eachach of his own province" (oo n-ib Eacac fen). The generic name implies that the Annalist²¹ includes both branches so

¹⁹ From the foregoing pages it will be seen that Mr. Gibson, in chap. 1 of his "History of Cork," commenced with a sweeping mis-statement. Summarizing the history of Munster before Brian Boru's time, he says: "Munster had been from an early period, possessed by the Mac Carthys of Cork, and the Dalcassians, or O'Briens, of Limerick. The King of the whole of Munster was chosen alternately from these two great families." The facts are:—(1) That of the first mentioned of those Septs (if we exclude Core and other Kings common to many tribes) there were only three Kings of Munster before Brian's time, namely, Failbe Flann, Colgu, and Ceallachan Cashel. See "Wars of the Gael," p. 240, and note in Chron. Scotorum, as to Donogh, son of Ceallachan Cashel. (2) That of the Dalcassian or O'Brien race there were most probably none at all. (Dr. Todd, and see also p. 80, April-June, 1907, No. of this "Journal.")

²⁰ O'Donovan's notes on O'Heerin. O'Donoghues, a different tribe from those of the Ui Eachach, are often mentioned in the Annals as Chiefs of this district in the earlier part of the eleventh century. But they appear to have died out.

²¹ He mentions that the O'Donoghue Chief, "Cahal of the red hand, grandson of Donal, King of the Ui Eachach (i.e., his own portion thereof), was killed on that occasion. Plainly, this Annalist had a good opportunity of hearing all about Cormac's expulsion.

"O'Mahon" and O'Donoghue" are expressly named in the *Innisfallen Annals* as combining with three other Chiefs, McCarthy, who was also expelled. The above entry in the *Annals* about the combination against Cormac McCarthy led with that in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, which records the dethronement of O'Connor. But in Munster affairs the original *Innisfallen Annalist* should not be set aside; confirmed to a certain extent by an entry in the *Annales* by Ware in his notes on the Charter²² alleged to have expelled McCarthy to a Church in Cork. It is quoted in the *Annals* as follows:—"Cormac mac Muriagh mic Carthaigh matuib agus a dul go Liosmor an olithre." The correct version (as required by the context) do aithrioghadh do maithib—dethroned by nobles (Chiefs) and went to Lismore, &c. The *Annalist* would surely mention the King of Munster who took part in the action.

Cian's chieftainship was certainly a disturbed one. He was "the Chieftains of Munster and Thomond" in some extent, of whom we are not precisely informed, but a battle took place near Mountrath, where, according to the (*Dublin Annals*), A.D. 1135, "Cian, son of Donogh Donn, son of Brodchon, O'Mahon, King of Ui Eachach, was killed."²³ His immediate successor of Cian (the third) was not his son, who must have been of age in 1135, as his death is recorded in 1212. By the time of his brother, or other near relative, became head of the Sept. The name of this successor has not been preserved, but in the year 1137, we find that "Cormac M'Carthy, O'Mahon, and other chiefs went to Portlairge to oppose Turlough O'Conor's son, however, afterwards succeeded to the Chieftainship." The same *Annals* is the entry:—"A.D. 1171. Donogh O'Mahon King of Eachach; Donal O'Donoghue over the Eoghanacht of Loch Garman." In subsequent entries, and in the genealogical table, Donogh is the son of Cian. We are now arrived at the period of the reign of the O'Mahons.

In the original article at a future date, the present writer intends to prove that the *Annals* were concocted two centuries after Dermot's time.

A mistake was made in the "*Annals of the Four Masters*" in giving to a certain tribe and territory who died in this Cian's time, in 1121, Maolsechlainn the name of "Chief of the Eachach Mumhan." O'Donovan, who had mentioned on this in his *Ed. of the Annals*, supplied the omission in the notes for the genealogical chapters in "*Cambrensis Eversus* (Dr. Kelly's *is*," he writes, "is a mere blunder, the Ui Eachach Mumhan were the descendants of O'Donoghues." It was simply an error such as often occurs when a writer to fix his eye on a word in the previous line and unconsciously reproduces the name of the Four Masters," in the line before the above entry, the name of the Four Masters, occurred twice. The accidental error of the Four Masters in the Catalogue of the R.I.A. in describing the shrine of S. Lachtan, made by the Chief referred to.

(To be continued.)

A Duhallow Barber Poet.

By R. W. EVANS, B.L., LL.B.



THE present crisis in France recalls to mind a singular opponent of the great French Revolution which took place towards the end of the eighteenth century. About the year 1790 there appeared in Kanturk (after an absence of twelve years or so) a remarkable character, whose name was Edward Holland. This individual, though following the prosaic occupation of barber, soon got the reputation among the country people of being a very "knowledgeable man." He was an omnivorous reader, and it is said that he knew by heart the whole of Goldsmith's poetry. Customers would find him on a fine day walking up and down in front of his shop, either reading or reciting poetry, and generally he had to be touched or spoken to before his attention could be directed to the mundane requirements of his visitor. He would then look up suddenly and remark, "Your humble servant, sir, I was spending a leisure moment with the muses."

For a year or so he merely confined himself to little extempore lyrics, with which he would entertain his customers during his tonsorial operations. But when the echoes of the great French Revolution reached these shores, his disposition commenced to change. Being an ardent admirer of his great fellow-countryman, Edmund Burke, he followed his lead, and denounced the Jacobins with the utmost fury. On hearing the news of the massacres of '92, he said, "Ah! I knew that Mr. Burke could not prophesy wrong." He would pace up and down his shop uttering tirade upon tirade of execration against the Red-Caps of Paris, and at times would spring suddenly away from the customer whose hair he was dressing and ejaculate, "Ah! sir, if you were in Paris now you would be compelled to submit your head to the executioner instead of to the barber. But oh, if I had the wretches here, I would slash them to pieces with this!" He would then seize a razor and swing it around in such a dangerous fashion that the frightened customer frequently rushed headlong from the establishment, his toilet unfinished.

In 1794 the state of affairs in Paris affected this tonsorial upholder of law and order to such an extent that he said he should be compelled to publish his indignation to the world, or else go crazy. With this object in view, he induced several of his customers and others to subscribe to the publication of a "Poetical Miscellany," which immediately saw the light at the hands of the Cork publisher, J. Connor, 17 Castle Street (which premises now furnish refreshments for the body instead of food for the mind).

In the Preface we are told that "The atrocious and unprecedented crimes of a neighbouring Kingdom awoke the author's muse from the lethargic state in which she had long been dormant." Not bearing in mind the saying of his great contemporary to the effect that if you sow dragons' teeth they will spring up as armed men, or, as more briefly put

by one still greater, "As ye sow, ye must reap," the writer goes on to say. "Men could not be blamed for emerging from a state of slavery to that freedom which is the birthright of every individual; but to wade to it through seas of blood must be held in detestation by all men of honest principle."

Then follow several poems in the heroic couplets so fashionable with rhymers during the eighteenth century. In the first poem, "An Address" to his native town, he attacks his contemporary, Patrick O'Kelly, in the following lines:—

"'Tis said the poet's thirst for fame
Exceeds the miser's love for gain.
All such vain notions I disclaim—
I leave all that to great O'Kelly,
Who pants for fame, as he would tell ye;
Whose lofty strains in epic numbers,
Like Grecian Bards, he loudly thunders."

And so on for several more lines.

Holland had addressed some verses to O'Kelly, but the latter, on learning the occupation of their writer, immediately flung them into the fire, with the contemptuous ejaculation, "Phew! they smell of oil."

The last poem in Holland's book is an address to the same bard. But of O'Kelly more anon. Almost the whole "Miscellany," however, is an attack on the Jacobins. The treatment he wished to mete out to the notorious and subsequently unlucky Philip "Egalite" was as follows:

"The monster Orleans, shame to human kind,
As base of heart and fraudulent of mind
As Lucifer, that damned and damning fiend,
In a dark dungeon, dreary, damp and deep,
There, night and day, he for his crimes should weep;
When craving nature called aloud for food,
I'd glut his savage heart with tiger's blood;
When cloyed thereat, and lo! he cried for more,
His chief delight—I'd give him human gore."

A saturnine diet surely!

The next poem, "The Vision," is another tirade against the French Revolutionary Government. Then follow elegies on the King and Queen of France. Intermixed with denunciations of the French Government are occasional eulogies on British Rule. I fancy that Holland must have conceived that he might require future assistance from the Aldworths and other Tory subscribers to his "Miscellany."

There are, however, a few poems in the book which are not philippics against the Revolution, and singularly enough, these display more merit than the former productions. In "The Hermit" the scissors-wielding moralist points out the evil consequences of jealousy and a hasty temper. Then we get the somewhat stale story of "The Miser" and the spendthrift heir, which subject I am afraid could not be rendered entertaining by a lesser hand than Alexander Pope.

Although Holland called down the very vengeance of Heaven itself to destroy by fire the Sansculottes, like the army of Sennacherib, we greatly fear that he and his philippics would have speedily sunk to (let

us say) an undeserved oblivion, if one production of his had not attracted the attention of a better known bard and inspired him by antagonism to make his one successful bid for posthumous fame. I refer to the aforementioned O'Kelly and the poem which was called forth by Holland's writings, the well-known "Curse of Doneraile," which production will most assuredly live as long as one house remains standing in the anathematised town.

I mentioned above where O'Kelly had disdained to read Holland's verse, and that in consequence of this the latter addressed him in an unfriendly manner in his first poem, and again in his last, in which he says that notwithstanding his hairdressing pursuits, he has talent enough "in rhyme to paint an upstart's haughty pride." O'Kelly, however, disdained to read these "vituperations," as he called them, but said that he would teach the "Kanturk balladmonger" manners. It is related that being in Kerry some time afterwards, Kelly mounted his ass and set out to chastise Holland. The latter, on learning that he was to be attacked, started out on an old broken-winded hunter, given to him by one of the Aldworths, a family whom he had eulogised in verse, which steed he had named Rosinante, after the immortal Quixote's quadruped. He carried with him as a weapon the pole of his profession. O'Kelly's donkey, on hearing the dreadful noise emitted by Rosinante's windpipe, and beholding the strange weapon carried by her cavalier, became so alarmed that he turned on his heels, and bolting, never stopped, notwithstanding all the tugging of his angry rider, until he drew up in front of the tavern at Kingwilliamstown with such abruptness that, it is said, he shot the great minstrel headlong into the gutter.

But to come to the origin of the "Curse of Doneraile," Holland wrote a "Poem on the Beautiful Seat of the Right Hon. Lord Doneraile," in which he eulogized the town, the people, the surrounding scenery, and, above all, the virtues of the noble Lord of the Manor. Some years afterwards O'Kelly, being in the neighbourhood, went into a butcher's shop to buy some veal for his evening meal, and seemingly while there his watch was stolen. On going home to his lodgings he missed the time-piece, and being in a very bad temper, he picked up as a sedative a volume which he found lying on a table and commenced to read where he opened it at random. Needless to say, when he found it was Holland's poems it had not the desired effect; but on seeing that the poem on which he had alighted was the one "On the Country Seat of the Right Hon. Lord Doneraile," he continued to read in disgusted fascination. It proved the last straw. He immediately penned off the famous "Curse," not retiring to bed till he had finished it, when his feelings were greatly relieved. He blamed the butcher for the theft, hence the anathema:—

"May beef, or mutton, lamb or veal,
Be never seen in Doneraile."

Lady Doneraile, on learning of his loss, presented him with a new watch, a much more valuable one than the lost one, and he immediately wrote a "Blessing," but (I suppose owing to the persistence of evil in this wicked world) it never attained to the same widespread popularity as his "Curse of Doneraile."

As to the closing years and death of our Duhallow Jasmin, Holland, I have not succeeded in eliciting any information.

Henry Eeles, Philosopher and Land Agent.

(Continued from Vol. XIII., page 72).

By WILLIAM HENRY GRATTAN FLOOD, Mus. Doc. R.U.I.



R. GRICE SMYTH, of Ballynatray, near Youghal, writes to Eeles, on March 17th, 1731-2, complaining of the great difficulty of getting any money from his tenants, and, consequently, of being unable, for a time, to pay the rents due to Lord Burlington.

On August 17th, 1736, Henry Eeles wrote to Isaac Gervais, announcing that Mrs. Gervais had gone to Waterford, and was on a visit to Rathgormuck, near Carrick-on-Suir. This Isaac Gervais was Vicar Choral of Lismore, and Prebendary of Kilrossanty. He resigned his Vicar Choralship on February 10th, 1742-3, on being promoted to the Deanery of Tuam. He died, as Cotton states, in February, 1756, and was buried at Lismore.

We have also several letters that passed between Eeles and William Dennis, Archdeacon of Lismore, in the years 1736 and 1737, but they are of no particular interest. Dennis was Archdeacon from 1724 till his death on June 5th, 1749. He was buried in the Protestant Cathedral of Waterford.

On December 10th, 1737, a deed was perfected at Lismore Castle, whereby Mr. Thomas Grant purchased "the fee simple and inheritance of the lands of Inchinleamy" for the sum of £2,100. Towards the purchase money Eeles lent Grant £800, who afterwards mortgaged the lands of Kilmurry and Inchinleamy on January 6th, 1738, and those of Grantstown, Farranshoneen, and Knockboy, to Eeles as security for said sum of £800. Eeles has a note that Mr. Grant paid in cash £2,037, and that the balance of £63 was remitted by Mr. Burward, the Earl's head agent. At this date Charles Prince was Seneschal of Lismore.

Alexander Alcock, Dean of Lismore, writes to Eeles, on April 9th, 1737, relative to the appointment of Thomas Lowder, LL.D., to the Head Mastership of Lismore College. This Lowder was afterwards (1742) appointed Vicar Choral of Lismore Cathedral, and he died April 26th, 1759, and was interred in the Cathedral.

In the years 1737-8, Eeles was Receiver at Youghal for the Earl of Burlington, and we find a most interesting letter from Bishop Berkeley, who made a visitation of Youghal in September, 1737, asking for some venison from the Earl's deerpark.

September 1st, 1737.

Sir,—As I hold my visitation next week, I shall have occasion for a Buck out of Lord Burlington's Park. I must, therefore, use the permission his Lordship has given me, and desire you'll please to order it so to be sent on Monday next, which will oblige, Sir, your very humble servant,

GEO. CLOYNE.

Burward, writing to Eeles, dated London, April 25th, 1738, says:

"Lord Duncannon has the seigniorie conveyed to him Our act goes on all right, and I think by Mid-Day my Lord will be quite out of debt, to the great surprise of everybody in this part of the world." Eeles himself thus writes to the Earl of Burlington: "Ever since I was removed from yr. Lordship's business in Lismore, Mr. Harper has entrusted me with rents of £3,000 per an., which Sir Wm. Heathcote bought from yr. Lordship without ever demanding any security for my discharging that trust Mr. Gervais [Vicar Choral of Lismore] can also certify for me."

There is a striking confirmation of the pecuniary difficulties of Lord Burlington at this period in a letter from Alderman Barber, of London, to Dean Swift, dated March 13th, 1738: "My Lord of Burlington is now selling in one article £9,000 a year in Ireland for £200,000, which wont pay his debts."

Eeles, in a further letter to Lord Burlington dated May 1, 1738, says: "On account of Burward, I was obliged to acquiesce, while I saw yr. Lordship suffered the greatest injury by selling near £11,000 a year to pay off debts for which you did not pay above £8,000 a year interest; that is, by giving the purchasers of yr. estates 5 per cent. There was £2,000 a year sold to Lord Duncannon which have paid ten or twelve thousands pounds fine yet you recd. nothing for the reversion of these fines, tho' Lord Duncannon at his first visiting the estate got the value of £1,000 from one tenant alone for the renewal of his Lease."

The case of Eeles v. Burlington and others was in litigation from Hilary Term, 1738, to Trinity Term, 1740, and, at length, the Major triumphed. Accordingly, in January, 1740, we find Henry Eeles installed again as agent at Lismore, having his youngest sister, Sarah, as house-keeper. This Sarah got married in July, 1741, to John Armstead of Cork, partner of the banking firm of Harper and Armstead.

Eeles had an attack of gout in the summer of the year 1742, and on August 4th, there is a humorous letter from John Crotty, of Cappoquin, from which I extract the following: "I send you as many books as I can find of any humour. For aught I know, my wife and I will walk over and console you in the evening."

Some minor difficulties in connection with the management of the estate arose in 1742, but at last they were settled by arbitration in January, 1744. On March 28th, 1748, Charlotte Elizabeth, only child of the Earl of Burlington, married William, Marquis of Hartington, eldest son of William, third Duke of Devonshire, and in this way the Burlington property in Ireland passed to the Cavendish family. On June 22nd, 1755, the Marquis of Hartington landed at Cork as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and visited Youghal and Lismore. A warrant of privy seal was issued on July 1st, 1756, granting the sum of £6,000 towards the cost of opening up the river Blackwater for inland navigation.

Apparently, in 1749 and 1750, Eeles suffered from gout, and there is a letter from his relative, Robert Eeles, on April 9th, 1751, containing "a sure receipt" for that disease. About this time, the Major began to devote himself seriously to natural philosophy, especially to electricity, of which he was the pioneer in Ireland. He also constructed a "Flying Coach" a sort of steerable balloon. It was not, however, till 1756, that he began to exercise his wonderful powers as an electric doctor, and.

thenceforth till his death his services were sought by hundreds of patients. Even Dr. Dalton, of Cappoquin, was forced to admit that Eeles had effected some surprising cures.

The death of George II. on October 20th, 1760, necessitated a general election, and the Major was requested to stand for Lismore. He resolutely refused, and his resolution was endorsed by some of his relatives, as is evident from the following letter, written by Robert Sloughter, dated Hampton Wick, January 17th, 1760-1: "The Bp. of Ossory told me some time ago the obligations of the Royal Society to you for your many useful discoveries I honour you for your refusal to be made a Member of Parliament, as the fatigue would have been more than you would have liked, and as I know you would have had a Patriot disposition, your profits I fear would have been but small."

From this letter it is evident that in 1760 Eeles had contributed some philosophical papers to the Royal Society, but it may be also added that he published, through Flynn, of Dublin, two treatises dealing with the extraordinary powers of electricity. Like many another genius he was in advance of his time, and his views as to the latent powers of nature were received as those of a visionary—and this notwithstanding that he gave several exhibition trial trips of his "Flying Coach" in the grounds of Lismore Castle.

On May 8th, 1760, Christopher Musgrave, of Tourin, wrote to the Major regarding a patient that he was sending him, begging him "to try the effect of his all-healing hand" on the invalid. A subsequent letter informs us that the electrical remedies in this case were eminently successful.

Among the many persons who sent patients to Mr. Eeles during the years 1757-1762, were: the Earl of Shannon, Nathaniel France, the Registrar of Cloyne, Thomas Moore, Mr. Conner, John Creagh, Harry Baggs, Mr. Kiely, &c. Mr. Nathaniel France, of Youghal, writing on behalf of Miss Hanning, who was palsied, says: "Your very eminent skill in electrifying having reached Cloyne, I make bold to recommend you Miss Hanning as the tide answers next Thursday, I mean, please God, to be in Lismore that day."

William, 4th Duke of Devonshire, who had acquired the Burlington estates, died October 3rd, 1764, and was succeeded by his son, William, 5th Duke, who continued the Major in-office as his Agent at Lismore.

Among the many letters of thanks received by Eeles during the year 1763-4, the following is from the Earl of Tyrone, George de la Poer Beresford, who was created Marquis of Waterford on August 19th, 1789:

"Sir,—I cannot leave the country without expressing my best acknowledgments to you for the trouble you were at in removing the ague from me. Your operation was by much the pleasanter and most effectual I have gone through.

I must request my best compliments to Mr. Gervais [Henry Gervais, Vicar Choral of Lismore, afterwards Archdeacon of Cashel], and all my other friends at Lismore, and am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

IV. of September, 1763."

TYRONE.

In connection with the philosophic tastes of Henry Eeles, it should have been mentioned that as early as 1755 he communicated a long letter

to the Royal Society, which duly appeared in the "Philosophical Transactions," vol. xlix., part i., and was reprinted in the "Universal Magazine" for August and September, 1756, a copy of which is now before me. This important communication dealt with "The Cause of the Ascent of Vapour and Exhalation, and those of Winds; and of the General Phenomena of the Weather and Barometer." Previously, on September 20th, 1751, he had communicated to the Royal Society a letter concerning the cause of Thunder, in which he endeavoured to prove that "the fire which is made apparent by electrical experiments is the principal cause of the ascent of vapour and exhalation." Both these communications were published under the title of "Letters from Lismore." His experiments, however, as to the identity of lightning and electricity had been commenced in 1745.

On April 26th, 1759, Eeles chronicles the death of his friend, Rev. Dr. Lowder, Head Master of Lismore College, and Vicar-Choral of Lismore Cathedral, whose remains were interred in the cathedral. Three years later died Very Rev. Washington Cotes, Dean of Lismore, who was succeeded by Rev. Dr. John Ryder on May 22, 1762, a non-resident

The Earl of Shannon writes to Eeles, on August 22, 1758, recommending to his care a tenant of his named Batt. Joyce, "who has lost the use of one side by a paralytic disorder." Thomas Moore, of Cregg, petitions Eeles, on November 18, 1758, "on behalf of a poor creature badly paralyzed." About this time the Major was very successful in his cure of the daughter of the Registrar of Cloyne, Miss Hanning.

Among some loose receipts of this period I find some curious bills. One of these was a small account which he had furnished his brother, Robert, including an item: "To mending your watch, 9 shillings and two pence."

John Creagh writes to Eeles from Doneraile on December 31st, 1759, wishing him a happy New Year, and sending his "kind regards to Harry Baggs, his uncle and aunt Gervais, and the young ladies, also to Mr. and Mrs. Kiely, Molly Moss," &c.

Robert Eeles died in 1760, and the Major was left a lonely bachelor. For the next few years there is a mass of correspondence dealing with cures, accounts, and designs for a "flying coach." The dimensions of his own flying coach, propelled by sails, are given as follows, in 1761:—

"The shafts three inches thick, $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and 11 feet and a half in length, and three feet asunder.

"The step of the mast 13 in. high and 2 ft. 3 in. from the end. Its supporters are 18 in. long, and as thick as the shaft is broad.

"The axle of the movable wheels two feet from the end, and the boards through which the bolt passes are an inch thick and 6 in. broad.

"The under part of the steerage 3 feet and a half in length, 3 in. broad, and one thick.

"The upper part four feet and a half long; same thickness.

"The seat a foot high, and 6 broad.

"The sail 4 feet high, 8 feet at top, and 17 at bottom. Two Ruffs at bottom, 2 feet each."

Eeles took out a patent for his "Flying Coach," and we learn from his notes that the fees he paid for same amounted to £34 4s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. If we are to credit his letters, he was far more successful in his invention

than anything in that line that had previously been attempted. He gave several exhibitions of his aerial flights in Lismore, Cappoquin, Youghal, and Tourin.

Samuel Taylor, an eminent lawyer of Waterford, writes to Eeles from Waterford, on August 12th, 1765, to know if he might bring Mrs. Taylor to him, "as Dr. Gervais had said that deaf people often received benefit by electricity."

In his statement of accounts dated April 11th, 1767, there are some interesting items, one of which is: "For 4½ pounds of tea, for Henry Baggs, £2 os. 6d."

In his quarterly accounts for 1768 I find an entry of £24 18s. 8½d. for "one quarter's fees, ending March 24th, as Comptroller of the Port of Waterford." Eeles was also Comptroller of the Ports of New Ross and Wexford from 1740 till his death.

Nothing of any great interest occurs in the Eeles papers from 1768 to 1772, but, on August 24th, 1773, there is a note relative to the death of Dr. Thomas Power, an esteemed medical practitioner, who lived at Ballygallane, near Lismore. Eeles also notes that the Archdeacon's house at Lismore, the Archdeacon (Alexander Alcock) being non-resident, was let "vastly cheap."

In 1775 a fine stone bridge was erected at Lismore over the Blackwater by William, fifth Duke of Devonshire, who gladly retained the services of Eeles as his agent. The Duke, on June 5th, 1774, married Lady Georgiana Spencer, the famous "canvassing" Duchess. In the Parliament which was summoned for June 11th, 1776, the two members for Lismore were Major-General James Gisborne and Henry Cavendish.

In 1776 Mr. Ben. Donovan writes a long letter to Eeles thanking him for the restoration of his wife's health, owing to the marvellous powers of electricity. He adds: "Mrs. Donovan and Mrs. Haddock send their love to Miss Rose." This Miss Rose was the niece of the Major, and she subsequently became Mrs. Roderick, becoming the mother of Henry Eeles Roderick, of Youghal, the well-known hydrographer.

Notwithstanding his scientific and philosophical studies, the Major was of a very social nature, and continued a bon vivant to the end of his days. He visited Youghal in 1780, the year in which the unfortunate duel took place, on April 7th, between Lieutenant Antony Watters and Lieutenant Hercules Langrishe, officers of the 32nd Regiment; on which occasion the latter was mortally wounded. It may be added that in the same year Lord Edward Fitzgerald was stationed in Youghal as Lieut. of the 96th Regiment of Foot.

Among the Major's most particular friends was Mr. Christopher Musgrave, of Tourin, the father of Richard Musgrave, M.P. for Lismore, who was subsequently (December 2nd, 1782) created a baronet. Apparently, Eeles had at this time made up his mind as to his place of interment, and it was a sort of standing joke among his intimate companions. Among the Eeles papers, under date of March, 1781, I find the following letter from Christopher Musgrave:—

"Dear Major—Tho' 'tis an odd kind of a subject to address to a gentleman—that of his interment—yet, as we have been at work this week past to facilitate that matter for you, as far as we could, if you take pot-luck here to-day (Sunday) I make no doubt but we shall continue

your expansion to the summit of your wishes, and at the same time a lasting monument to the memory of Major Eeles.—I am, your affectionate,
CHRIS. MUSGRAVE."

Six months later the Major died at Lismore, namely, on October 7th, 1781, and, by the terms of his will, was buried on the summit of Knockmealdown Mountain, so as to be near the home of his beloved lightning. The fiction as to his having been buried with his horse, dog and gun, may be disproved by the fact that for four or five years prior to his death he had neither horse, dog, nor gun, though he kept up his interest in sport till the year 1777, when he was almost 80 years of age.

The following letter written by the late Nelson Trafalgar Foley, J.P., dated April 8th, 1843, is of interest, as he had been, as a boy, present at the interment of the Major, and had a vivid recollection of the event:—

"Henry Eeles died on October 7th, 1781, and was buried on the summit of Knockmealdown on the 9th. When his remains were deposited in the grave, my father put me standing on the coffin, and desired me to remember the occurrence during my life. Several tents were pitched at the base of the mountain, in which many persons spent the night with pipers and dancing.

"Henry Eeles was a perfect gentleman—talented, highly accomplished, charitable, and much esteemed and respected by all classes."

Such is the life-story of Major Eeles, as gathered from his papers; and, as has been seen, he certainly deserves remembrance as the first to discover the identity of lightning with electricity. Before he died, he had the satisfaction of seeing great improvements effected on the Lismore estate, and he was a popular agent. In his last illness he was lovingly nursed by his niece, Rose, who became the wife of Henry Roderick, to whose great-grandniece I am indebted for the loan of the Eeles papers.

An Interesting Cork Courtmartial, A.D. 1677.

By JAMES BUCKLEY.



THE following very curious particulars of an early Cork court-martial are taken from a MS. in the British Museum (Stowe, 211, fol. 130), and throw much light on the ordinary life of a common soldier, the quaint authority of a sovereign of a small Irish town, and the relations that existed between our civil and military authorities, in the reign of Charles II. The drumming out scene was attended with much formality and was no less dramatic than exemplary. The ownership of the uniform, it is observed, remained with the soldier, and he was apparently entitled to continue wearing it even when he had relapsed into civil life. It would be interesting to know what circumstances induced the Crown, and when, to claim the ownership of cast-off regimentals.

"feb. ye 14th, 1676. [O.S.]

I being desyred by ye Court Marshall held in Corke this day to declare what I know concer[n]ing ye Comittall of William Worth, I doe hereby owne yt I gave orders to my Sergt. William Clerke, at ye gathering together of my company on Sunday morning, being ye 21. Jan., '76, to bring ye next morning, being munday, out of pryson ye sd. William Worth, being, then iust goeing to Church with his said Company, and that ye Souldgiers hearing him say it, mistooke his orders and went and fetched him out of pryson assone as Church was done.

THO. FFOSTER."¹

"William Clerke, Sargt. of Capt Hammons Company, being examined, sayth, yt Lieut. foster gave order yt his Souldgier, William Worth, should be released ye munday morning after, this being ye 21 Jan., '76, wh he acquainted then ye greatest part of ye Company with.

This is a true copy.

WILLIAM CLERKE.

Wittness—Shannon."

"Shannon Barke, 15 feb., 1676.

Dearest Brother,² I here send yu an account of our proceedings at a Court Marsiall held yesterday in Corke, about ye tryall of ye Mutenyer Souldgiers of Capt. Hammons company in Kingsayle, where was present Col. St. Leger, Lieut. Painter, Lieut. Gye, Lieut. Foster (Capt. Hammons Lieut.), Cornett Prothero, Quarterm. dalacourt, ensigne floyd, Ensigne denny, and Ensigne Meade, being all ye officers in these parts.

Assone as we mett being informed yt ye Sovern of Kingsayle³ was not come, but had sent Capt. Mumford and another, we sent for them, who came with Mr. Recorder Worth.⁴ I tould them yt vpon ye complaint of ye Sover. of Kingsayle against one William Worth and John Humphries, James Hall and Wm. Davis, of Capt. Hammons Company, I had by order from my Ld. Lieut. (who will lett noe disorders goe vnpunished) call'd a Court Marsiall, and did send for those Souldgiers and we were now ready to heare what they could prove ag. them, but first I tould Mr. Recorder yt twas still ye practise in Garysons yt if any Tounesmen shud comit any misdemenor ag. a Souldgier, ye officer did not take vpon him ye punishment of him, but caryed him to ye Civill Magistrate, and ye like ye Civill Magistrate ought to doe of ye misdemenors of ye Souldgiery: yt so there might be noe difference between ye Civill and Miletory power, but yt both may act together to maintaine ye good and peace of ye Kingdome, wh Mr. Recorder granted.

They broght but 2 wittneses: ye first was ye Clerke of Kingsayle Markett, who swore yt one William Worth, a Souldgier of Capt. Hamons compy., haueng a beefe in ye Markett ye Sover. bed him cutt vp ye Beefe, to wh. ye sd. Worth answered he would doe it when he saw time: yt ye

¹ There are a few references in the *Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale* (Guildford, 1879) relating to this officer, of which the following is one: "7th August, 1674. That the Corporation will lend 20 li. to Lieut. Foster towards the subsistence of his soldiers, to be paid as the Sovn. shall direct by parcells as occasion shall serve; the inhabitants to be clear of the 4d. a day to each soldier upon Tuesday night next, being 11 inst."

² The Earl of Orrery.

³ The Sovereign in the above year was Anthony Stawell. He served eight times between 1661 and 1685, and died in office in the latter year.

⁴ William Worth was chosen Recorder in 1676, and was paid the magnificent salary of £10 p.a. He was afterwards 2nd Baron of the Irish Court of Exchequer

Sover. bed him cutt it vp again, to wh. ye sd. Worth answer'd he would cutt it vp for noe man till he had a mind to it, on which ye Sovern, being very angry their past some words and ye Sovern. ordered 2 of his Sargents to carry him to pryson, which was a fault of Mr. Sovern. (to excuse wh ye recorder sd. Mr. Sovern. he beleev'd did not know he was a Souldgier, but that was onely supposition, for he was proved to be a souldgier above 2 yeares in Kingsayle), the sd. Worth to prevent ye 2 Sargents Hawling him to Pryson gott hould of a post soe yt ye 2 Sargents could not pull him away. Duering this strugleng one William Clerke, Sargt. to Capt. Hamons company, comes in, and hearing ye Sovern. bed his 2 Sargts. pull him to pryson, he desyr'd ye Sover. yt being a Souldgier he would lett him alone till he went and call'd his officer, Lieut. Foster, and yt very time came in ye sd Lieut., and Mr. Sovern. telling him ye Souldgier Worth had affronted him, he ordered them to carry him to pryson, this is ye deposition of ye Clerke of ye Market.

I ordered ye sd William Worth to be call'd in, to which Mr. Recorder and Capt. Mumford said 'twas needless, for they had noething ag him. I asked them why did ye Sovern. then send him to pryson. Mumford answered, Lieut. foster had given him but one blow and chid him for speaking soe rudely to ye Sovern. 'twould have satesfyed him, but since he was imprysond they had noe more to say to William Worth.

But Col. St. Leger tould ym yt he just then came from Kingsayle and yt a[t] least ten of ye Tounesmen of Kingsayle was present and would depose if lawfull orderd yt ye Sover. came to this William Worth and tould him he must haue a peece of ye Beefe, and yt Worth answerd he could not, for he had sould it; yt ye Sover. answer'd he would have it; ye sd Worth answerd he could not, but he beleev'd he yt boght it would lett him have it, and yt as ye Sovern, & ye sd Worth was thus talking a man came in and asked Worth what was ye matter. Worth replied onely some difference between him and I pointing at ye Sovern.; on wh ye Sovern. said you Raskall doe yu make comparysons between me and yu. On yt Worth said, noe more raskall then yrselfe, and on yt he told his Sargts. carry him to pryson.

Their second wittness was, Humpny Bradfield, Maryshall Kingsale, who swore yt on Satterday, ye 19 of Jan., '76, he receaued a prisoner by order of ye Sover., one William Worth, a Souldgier of Capt. Hammons Company, and yt ye Sunday after, when morning prayer was done, there came about 30 or 40 of Capt. Hammons Company and bed ye sd Marshall Bradfield to lett out William Worth; but ye sd Marshall made answer yt he could not part with his prisoner [without?] ye Sovers orders. On which the Souldgiers cryed out, breake open ye doore then. Ye sd Marshall asked ym if they had noe officer with ym; they said noe; then came William Davis and strooke ye musle of his Muskett ag ye pryson doore; then ye souldgiers cryed all breake open ye doore, noe said William Davis I will doe noe more, and soe went his way. Then came James Humphryes and cryed out hang one, and hang all, and soe fell a breaking open ye doore, and James Hall gave ye sd Marshall a great punche with his Muskett, soe they broke open ye lock, being on ye out side of ye doore, and so lett out ye Prysoner, William Worth: to moderate wh mutinous cryme the Souldgiers have onely to plead ye mistake of ye time as yu may read by their Lieut foster's certificat.

Vpon ye whole, ye Court Marshall ordered yt William Davis shud be kept prysoner duering his officers discretion, and then at ye head of ye company to acknowledge his faulte to express his harty sorrow for it.

That John Humpries and James Hall be from this day casheerd his Ma'tie Armye: that their Armes be taken away and they presently stript of their red coates, and they led with their hands behind them with a guard thorou ye streetes of Corke, and so turned disgracefully out of ye Gates of ye sd Citye, and so caryed prysoners to Kingsayle, and there to be led allsoe in yt posture thorow ye Toune of Kingsayle, and so turned out of ye Gates: and that ye Company be drawn vp to see ye same done, and that after they are so turned out of ye Gates, to haue their red coates restored them, they having paid for them.

We had noe clerke to draw it vp, but this is all ye reall truth, wh yu may please to acquaint my Ld. Lieut. with, and further I shall desire yu to acquaint his Excy. of ye very great disorders and hart burning it makes to pay one Company of a Garyson and not ye rest. It makes souldgiers think their officers keepe their pay or are neglectfull of ym, for Capt. Warham St. Leger's company was paid 3 days agoe their december 75 pay, and none of ye rest, wh may prove of dangerus consequence if continued, wh is all, and I am sure enough, from

Yr faythfull humble Servant,

SHANNON.

The Red Abbey and its Tenants.

"I do love these ancient ruins—

We never tread upon them but we set

Our foot upon some reverend history."

John Webster, 1590.

"Non procul a Corcagia Ordini Eremitorum Sancti Augustini, regnante Edwardo Primo, coenobium fundavit Dermitius Carthaeus, vulgo Macarthaheus fuscus."—Bruodini, *Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis*.

By T. A. LUNHAM.



HE tower and a portion of wall containing a few pointed windows in Dunbar Street, are all that remain of the Augustinian Monastery founded by one of the De Courcey family in the 13th Century, *temp.* Edward I., and which is included by Ware in his list of "Monasteries of the Order of Eremites of St. Augustine, commonly called Austin Friars." (*Works*, vol. i., p. 282.) Archdall says—"A monastery was founded on the south side of the city in the reign of King Edward I. for friars following the rule of St. Augustine; some writers give this foundation to Patrick, Lord Kingsale, *temp.* Henry V and VI; and another writer brings the foundation so low as 1472 or 1475. 6th October, 19th Elizabeth, a grant was made to Cormac McTeige McCarthy, of this friary and its appurtenances, containing two acres, a church, &c., at the annual rent of £13, and for the other possessions the rent of 16s. 8d., all Irish money." When Archdall wrote in 1786, the building consisted of a

steeple 64 feet high, and the walls of the church." The east window, the only one in the choir, "was truly magnificent, and measured 30 feet in height and 15 in breadth" (*Monasticon*, p. 67). The Red Abbey is alluded to by Dean Davies in his *Journal*, p. 153, upon which place Dr. Caulfield has an interesting note, which entirely bears out the statement of Ware and Archdall regarding the date of foundation. This appears from an ancient deed in the possession of the Sarsfield family, being "a conveyance from Walter Newelond and his wife to David le Blounde of a messuage in the street of St. John Baptist, near Cork, extending in length from the said street on the south to the way which leads from the street of St. John the Evangelist to the house of the friars of the Order of St. Augustine on the north, and in breadth from the common lane leading from the street of St. John the Baptist to the sea (tide-way?) on the east to a certain curtilage of the said friars on the west." This instrument is dated Tuesday next after the feast of the Purification of the B. V. Mary, in the 16th year of King Edward II. (1288). When Smith wrote his history the Abbey was used as a sugar-house, and so continued until its destruction by fire (1799). He assigns 1420 as the probable date of the foundation. (Vol. i., p. 381.) The existing remains seem to be of the 15th century.

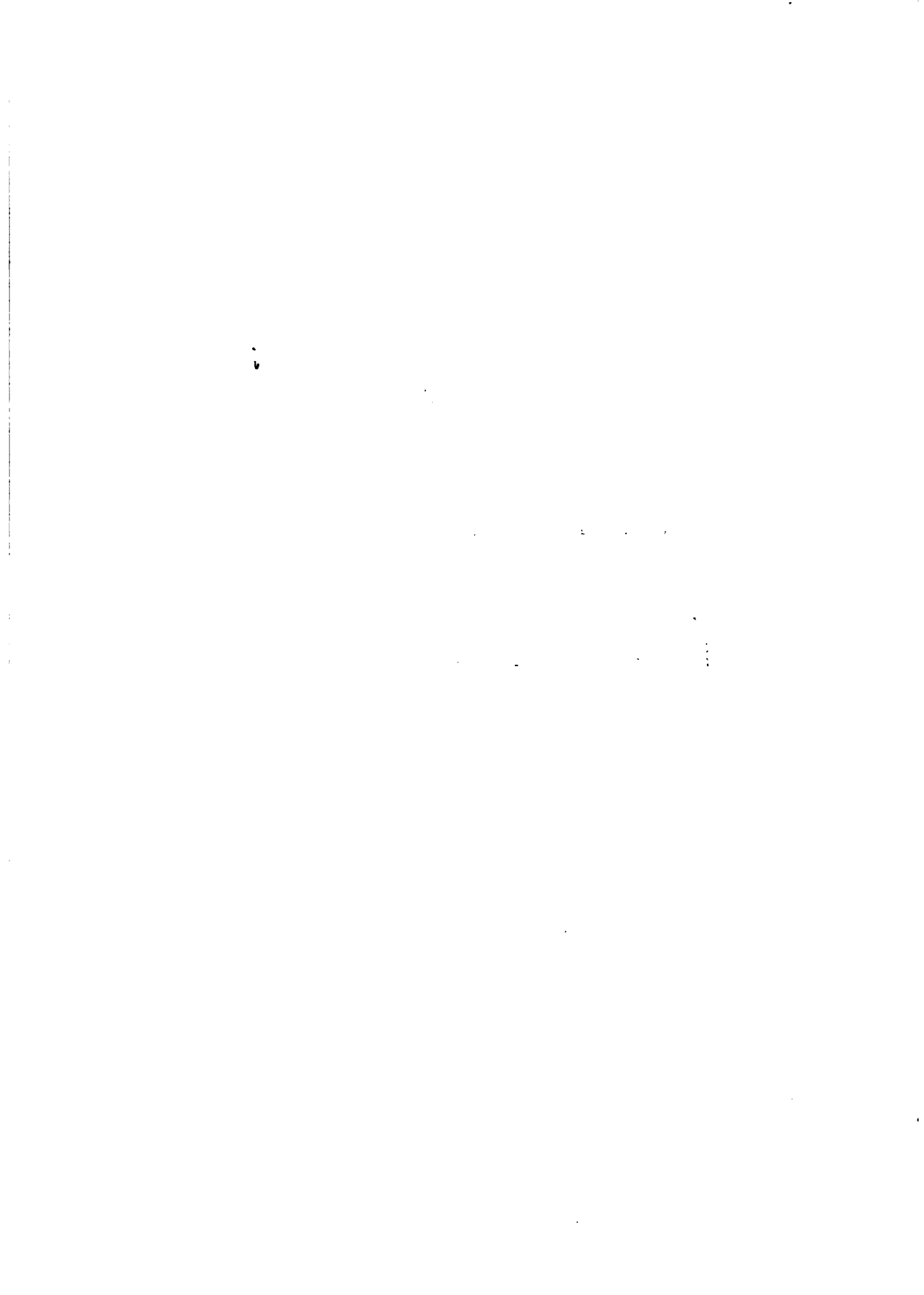
Some portion of the conventual buildings was used as a dwelling-house in later years, and was occupied as such by Sir Richard and Lady Fanshawe in 1650. "The country was fertile, and all provisions cheap, and the houses good, and we were placed in Red Abbey, a house of Dean Boyle's, in Cork, and my lord of Ormond had a very good army, and the country seemingly quiet," &c. (*Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, by herself, p. 76.) Again—"As soon as I had finished my letter, I sent it by a faithful servant, who was let down the garden wall of Red Abbey" (p. 78). It was from the summit of the tower that the Earl of Marlborough reconnoitred the city during the siege. (Sept., 1690.)

Dr. Caulfield writes that a small street of houses was afterwards built on the site of the Abbey by Lieut. Philip Donovan, after whom it was called, but eventually passing into other hands, it was designated Cumberland street.

The origin of the name is obscure, but the term "Red Abbey" cannot have been derived from the colour of the monks' habit, which was black. Although the tower is constructed of limestone, in other portions of the fabric red sandstone may have been used, blocks of which are still visible, built into the walls of St. Finbar's Church in Dunbar Street; hence, possibly the name "Red Abbey." In the same street still exists a building extending north and south, in the eastern wall of which are the remains of four low pointed windows. There has been originally a large one at the northern end, surmounted by carved stone heads, and probably furnished with mullions. This was taken down some twenty years ago, being unsafe. This building, perhaps, constituted the Refectory, the dormitory or dortoir occupying the upper storey. A number of skeletons in a fine state of preservation were found under the floor, and other remains in the space between the eastern wall and Dunbar Street. This may have been the cemetery. At the northern end, in an open yard, still remains the ancient well, covered over, but said to be full of water. These premises are now used as a stable.



EXTERNAL PART OF RED ABBEY—REFECTORY WALL, 1908.



With reference to the friars for whom this monastery was founded, and their habit, it is well to remember that there were two distinct Orders of regular clergy professing the rule of St. Augustine, as it was called: (1) Canons Regular, who were first introduced into England by Eudo, "dapifer" or sewer to Henry I., in 1105, according to Fuller (*Church Hist.* ed., Brewer, vol. iii. p. 263). Brewer, in his note, adds that the Augustinians came over into England in the reign of Henry I., and were called Black Canons, or Canons of St. Augustine. They are said to have assumed their title after the Council of Lateran in 1139, when Pope Innocent imposed the rule drawn up by St. Augustine of Hippo. Their dress consisted of a long cassock under a white rochet, all covered by a black cloak and hood—hence the name. (2) Austin Friars, or Eremites (these are not to be confounded with the above), being one of the minor mendicant Orders observing the rule of St. Augustine. They are said to have been founded by William Duke of Aquitaine, *circ.* 1150. Alexander IV. gathered their scattered communities into a single Order, under a Prior-General. They settled in England in 1254 (Walcott says), but Anthony A. Wood seems to prefer 1252; *History of Oxford* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), vol. ii., p. 446. They wore a black robe and girdle, or, according to Fosbrooke (*British Monachism*, p. 286), in the house a white tunic and a scapulary over it, in the choir, or out of doors, a sleeved cowl and large hood, both black. In the *Specimen Monachologiæ* they are represented as wearing a black cloth tunic, tied with a black thong, hood as before, and a black mantle. They were famous disputants, and the "Keeping of Austins" was one of the exercises required for the M.A. degree at Oxford (Couch's *Reminiscences of Oxford*, p. 164). It was these Eremites, or Austin Friars, who occupied the Red Abbey. The costumes of both Orders are depicted in Ware, vol. ii. The possessions of the Cork fraternity included "some gardens and houses near the Abbey, and a small piece of ground and mill called Ballivricks [Ballybrack?], near Doughlas. This Abbey, with the lands belonging to it, is the estate of my Lord Primate Boyle." (Bp. Downes' MS. Journal, 1699.)

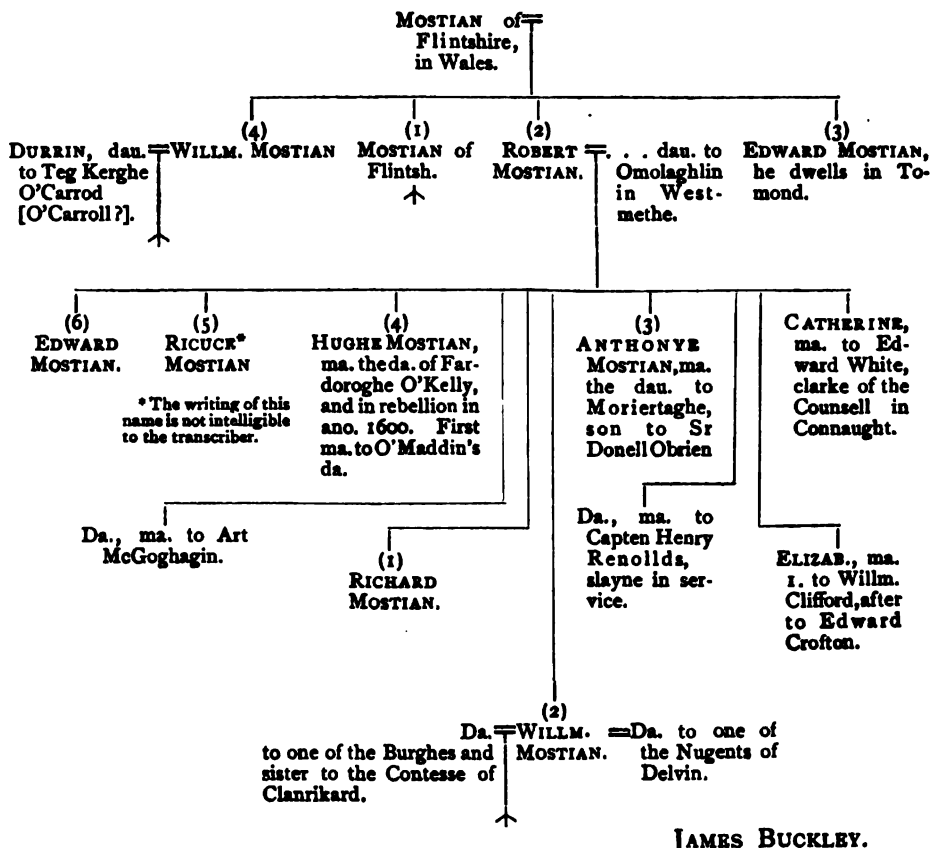
On the monks and their raiment generally, see Walcott's *Sacred Archæology*, p. 54; Hook's *Church Dict. sub voc.*, and the authorities above cited.

Notes and Queries.

Captain Hugh Mostian was one of those chosen by O'Donnell to accompany him to Spain (see *Journal* for last year, p. 97). Father Denis Murphy, S.J., in his edition of the *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, partially reprinted in this *Journal* under the title, "An Irish Account of the Battle of Kinsale," does not appear to be quite satisfied as to this Captain Mostian's identification. In the Carew MSS. in Lambeth Palace Library, No. 635, fol. 65, further information is given respecting this "famous rebel" (as Fynes Moryson styles him), in the shape of a short pedigree, illustrated with a rough pen and ink sketch of the family arms, which are—barry in seven, or and gules alternately. The

following is a copy of this pedigree, and it fully explains the, at first sight, somewhat puzzling appearance of the bearer of a British surname high in the ranks of an essentially Irish army.

MOSTIAN OR MUSTIAN IN THE CO. OF ROSCOMAN.



Kilconan or Cill Conain, Co. Cork.—The following entry occurs in the Pipe Roll of Cloyne, p. 12 :—"Abbas de Fermoy tenet de domino Kylconan, quae jacet juxta Karryg Tyrne, in parochia de Monasterio." Kylconan—i.e., Cill Conain—means Church of St. Conan. In the Fermoy Topography, Cill Conain is stated to be in the district named from the Ui Ingardail, whose chief fort is said to have been at Convamore. It is also said that Ui Ingardail and Ui Maille Machaire were the two tuaths or districts of Ui Cuain (race of Cuan), and were united into one tuath. The Martra—i.e., Ath Ubhla—now Ballyhooly, Cell Achid (Killaghy), Leitir (Letter), &c., were in Ui Ingardail. According to the Fermoy Topography, there was a church in the land of Brigh Goband, situated between Glanworth and Mitchelstown, named from St. Danan or Donan. Irish Saints named Donan and Conan are connected with the island of Aeg, or Ega, now

Egg in Scotland, and Egg, Muck, Rum and other islands are now included under the designation of Kildonan parish; hence it would appear that St. Conan of Cill Conain is the Conan of Egg, who is also connected with the Isle of Man. In Scotland, Conan, also called Mochonog, is connected with several places there. In Fortingal and near Loch Rannoch were churches (Kilconan) named from Conan. Near Dalmally is the well of Conan, and the "pattern" of Conan is held in Glenorchy. Conan is mentioned in the Irish Hagiologies at Jan. 12th, Jan 26th, and March 20th, and in the Donegal Martyrology is said to be son of Corre. His exact date is not known, but he flourished about the beginning or middle of the seventh century. Karryg Tyrne means rock of Tigernach Mac Luchta, whose cairn, resembling an upturned ancient ship, is on the rock. Tigernach Mac Luchta in O'Curry's MS. Mat., p. 267, where is quotation from the *Siege of Howth*, is stated to be King of South Munster, but in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, ii., 199, in accordance with "Serglige Conculaind," or the tale of the "Sick-bed of Cuchulaind," Tigernach Mac Luchta is stated to be King of North Munster. The Irish tigernach and the Greek turannos (Doric Koironos) are from the same root, tur, high or great, which in Irish has been curiously modified; the stages are tur, tiur, tiver, tiber, tiger. Whately (*English Synonyms*, p. 176) says it has been suggested that there is a connection of tyrannos with tigernach. Vortigern, the King of Britain who brought in the Saxons under Hengist and Horsa, about A.D. 447, is named Guorthigern in *Historia Britonum*, by Nennius, and Professor Windisch considers that the name is properly Gwr-tigern, "excelling lord." The parochia di Monasteris was so called from the Cistercian Abbey at Fermoy, named "Monasterium de Castro Dei in Fermoy," in Pipe Roll, p. 55. According to the Annals of Furness, the Cistercian Abbey of Furness obtained precedence of the following Cistercian Monasteries in Ireland:—"Fermoi, Ynes, Holy Cross, Wythnea (Uaithne, now Abington in Co. Limerick), Corconrouth, Ynefelughen, with Arkelo and Bello-Becio."

J. F. L.

Kilmore Holy Well, Garrettstown.—The Manor of Garrettstown, so called from the large number of heirs of the Core family, who possessed it in the 17th and 18th centuries, who bore the name of Garrett, is situated adjacent to the village of Ballinspittal, and extends to the Atlantic west of the Old Head of Kinsale. It is finely wooded, and contains many objects of historical and archæological interest. In the townland of Kilmore, on this estate, is a "Holy Well," called "Cobair Ríog an Dornnais," or the "Well of Sunday's King." It is not quite two feet in diameter, never runs dry, and never overflows, even after the heaviest rains. It is situated in a field, 800 yards west of Ballinspittal, and 20 yards south of the road to Kilbrittain. To this well people afflicted with sore eyes, ulcers and diseases of all descriptions, are wont to repair on three successive Sunday mornings, and also on the vigils of these three Sundays, to "pay their rounds," as they say—that is, to pray for the removal of their infirmities. It is customary with them to leave some memento of their visits, such as a string or a strip of cloth tied to the limbs of a tree that grows beside it; and the writer has counted 50 of these mementoes recently placed there.

Local tradition tells that the well was formerly located 60 yards west of its present site, but that one of the lords of the manor gave orders to his steward to have the well closed. This was done by filling it up with stones and clay, but very soon after the water sprang up again in its present site, and the people continued to "pay their rounds" at it as before. Within a week from the date of closing the original well, the son of the steward who superintended the work, died of an inexplicable illness, and the writer has heard the boy's mother repeatedly assert that she attributed his untimely death to the father's having been employed in closing the holy well. Before the end of the year the lord of the manor who had ordered the well to be closed, got afflicted with ulcers, and died a most painful death, and ever since people have been permitted to visit the well without let or hindrance.

JOHN HOLLAND.

Irish Crosses in the County Cork. It is much to be feared that we shall never get a satisfactory explanation of the almost total absence from our county, the largest in Ireland, of those wonderful ancient High Crosses of stone, respecting which Canon Courtenay Moore has recently inquired in this *Journal*, which are still so numerous represented in other parts of Ireland. Dr. Robert Cochrane, R.S.A.I., surmises that the crosses of this kind formerly existing in this county may have disappeared in consequence of the perishable nature of the stone from which they were wrought. But though Dr. Cochrane is one of our greatest authorities on this subject, his suggestion seems hardly to meet the difficulty—limestone being so abundant all over Munster, and used for centuries continuously for head stones, &c. But even as compared with the other counties of our Southern province the number of these crosses now known to exist in the County Cork is strangely small, being only three in all, viz., one at Labba Molaga, near Mitchelstown, one at Kilcatherine, and one at Kilmackown, these last being two places bordering on the Co. Kerry; whilst as shown by the valuable paper on these Irish crosses, published in the *Journal* of the R.S.A.I. for June, 1907, there are eleven still left in the Co. Clare, ten in Kerry, seven in Tipperary, and three in Waterford. The Co. Limerick cannot even boast of one. Again, the County Cork crosses are of the rudest possible kind, whilst several of those in the Co. Clare, and that at Ahenny, Co. Tipperary, form some of the most beautiful specimens to be found in Ireland.

That our county formerly possessed other crosses of this kind is shown by Windele, who mentions in his *Notices of Cork and its Vicinity* (1842) that Cross Street in Cork City is so called because previous to the wars of the Commonwealth there stood in it one of those Market Crosses raised in the public ways in Catholic times to keep alive in the people the spirit of religion. In his description of Cloyne the same writer states that at the intersection of the streets in that town was formerly placed a large wooden cross, a substitute probably for a more ancient market cross of stone. This wooden cross, Windele adds, was removed by Lord Longueville, much to the displeasure of the inhabitants of Cloyne, who, it is said, out of revenge attempted some indignity to his remains when afterwards borne through the town for interment. Hansbrow's *Hibernian Gazetteer* (1835) speaks of a large wooden cross as standing at the end of a lane leading to Kilcrea

Abbey, which had remained there ever since the demolition of the Abbey, but not now (1908) to be seen there. *Lewis's Dictionary* (1837) alludes only to one cross of this sort in our county, viz., under Kilkerranmore, a parish $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles S. by E. from Clonakilty, in whose burial ground are "the remains of a cross." In an article on Kerricurrihy, which appeared a few years ago in a local newspaper, the writer, Mr. J. P. Hayes, stated that there was a large broken Celtic cross lying near the Holy Well at Kilnahone, near Ballygarvan. There also appears to be a cross still existing at Carpenterstown in the Co. Cork, but in what part of it Carpenterstown is I have not been able to find out. On the Great Island to the north of Queenstown is Ballinacrusha, an ancient place-name meaning the townland of the cross. Here, too, apparently stood one of the ancient crosses, whose disappearance from our county it is now next to impossible to account for.

Memorials of Edmund Spenser, the Poet, and his Descendants in the County Cork, from the Public Records of Ireland.

[This paper is abridged from one under the above heading that appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December, 1855, from the pen of Mr. James F. Ferguson of the Irish Record Office, Dublin, which paper was partly intended to supplement some particulars given as to Spenser and his descendants in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1842, a subject also entered into very fully, he says, in *The Patrician*.]

"With respect to the poet, Edmund Spenser himself (writes Mr. Ferguson) I find upon the Memoranda Roll of the 21st-24th Elizabeth, membrane 108, an enrolment which commences "Memorandum quod Edmundus Spencer generosis, &c.," which shows that the poet, described as Edmond Spencer, gentleman, a servant of Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton the Lord Deputy, appeared in propria persona in the Court of Exchequer at Dublin, on the 6th of May, 1581. By the Exchequer Inquisition it appears that on the 24th of August, anno. 24 Elizabeth, 1582, letters patent were passed to Edmund Spencer, gentleman, of the dissolved House of Friars Minors of the New Abbey, Kildare, with its possessions for a term of 21 years, at a rent of 60 shillings a year; but such rent not having been paid for seven and a half years, the lease became forfeited, and was annulled.

By the Memoranda Roll of the Irish Exchequer, anno. 3, James I. (memb. 39) it appears that Elizabeth, by letters patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, dated 6 May, anno 32 (1590) granted to him and his heirs forever in fee-farm the manor, castle, town and lands of Kilcolman, with a clause to the effect that after the Feast of St. Michael, 1594, upon the death of any tenant of any principal habitation or any alteration thereof, "his or their best beast" should be reserved to the Crown, for and in the name of a heriot; and that upon Edmund Spenser's death or that of all his heirs or assigns, a relief should be paid according to the custom, &c., of England.

In a MS. book deposited in the Exchequer Records Office, Dublin, purporting to contain an account of the Revenues of the Queen's lands and possessions, &c., prepared by Nicholas Kenney as deputy of the Auditor-General, is the following entry of a receipt: "From Sir Henry

Wallop, Knt. (assignee of Richard Synnott, gent., assignee of Edmund Spencer, gent.) now farmer of all the lands of the late manor of Ennis-corthie; per annum, £11 13s. 4d."

The earliest book of Orders of the Revenue side of the Exchequer, now to be found in the same office, contains an entry relating to the poet dated in the year before his death:—7 mo Februar, 1597, Mr. Spencer by Mr. Cheffe Barron's dirrecc'on under his hand hathe day ffor payment of the arreradgis of rent due uppon the Abbay of Buttevant untill the beginning of Easter terme next, ffor that at this present, by reasonn of trouble in the way, he durst not bring downe anie monny." At the end of a draft book of Orders of the Revenue side of the Exchequer of the year 1609, is contained following entry: "Corke, Edmonde Spencer, Kilvrogan, Kilwanton, Backbeliston, Neghwan, Ballintegan, Rynny, in Conte Corke, sp'ualities and temp'alities."

When Sir Edmund Pelham was Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, viz., on the 19th of June, 1605, a writ was issued from that Court directing the Sheriff of the County Cork to make known to the poet's heirs, and all the tenants and possessors of the estates, that they should appear in the Exchequer the following Michaelmas term to show why they should not be charged with the "principal beasts and reliefs" which are reserved in his patent; and accordingly the Sheriff, Sir Francis Kingsmill, distrained the poet's heir and occupier of his estates, Silvanus Spenser, gentleman, by his bailiffs, Peter Dyllon and Thomas Howard (Memoranda Roll, 3 James I., m. 39). In Michaelmas term of the same year the Court directed the Sheriff of the same County Cork to seize the manor, castle, town, and lands of Kilcolman into the King's hands, which was done accordingly by the then Sheriff, Anthony Kemys, Esq. (same record, mem. 52). On Friday, the 31st of January, Silvanus appeared upon that writ of seizure, and upon the 4th of February following the Court ordered him to pay his rent and heriot, and to have a supersedeas of that writ. On Saturday, the 28th June, 1806, he appeared in Court, and tendered £8 2s. 11d. due by a recognizance for the last payment of £16 5s. 10d. "for his heriot and relief upon the death of his father, Edmund Spenser, for his lands holden of his Majesty in fee farm." The Exchequer further informs us that Silvanus was engaged in a contest with Sir Allan Apsloe, Knt., and John Power of Doneraile, as to the lands of Carigin and Ardadam, which Apsloe claimed as part of Doneraile, and not of Kilcolman as contended for by Silvanus Spenser.

Lying in confusion, crushed, crumpled, torn, and covered with dust in the Rolls Office of the Irish Chancery is a very valuable class of record, namely, the old bills, answers, and other pleadings of that Court, amongst which was deposited a few years past, a bill filed by Peregrine Spenser whereby he claimed a remainder to him and his issue male in an estate or certain lands in the County Cork under a deed of 1600, made by Sir William Sarsfield of Lucan, and Sir Gerald Aylmer of Monkton, Kildare wherein there was a remainder limited to the right heirs of Edmund Spenser, the poet. There was similarly deposited a bill dated 1622, wherein was stated that Sir Thomas Colclough, Knt., had been seized of the dissolved monastery of St. Augustine's, New Ross, derived from his father, Sir Anthony Colclough, who had purchased it from Edmund Spenser, who had bought it of Lord Mountgarret.

On the 18th of February, 1636, a fee farm grant was made to Edmund Spenser, Esq., of the lands of Kilcolman, &c., in the County Cork.

Peregrine Spenser, who died in the King's service in the first year of the Irish Rebellion, was seized in fee of the castle, town and lands of Reny, otherwise Ryny, containing one ploughland with the letters thereof of the parsonages, rectories, and tithes of Templebride, otherwise Killbride; Briny, Owans and Killbonane, and also of the Abbey of Buttevant, and half a ploughland thereto belonging, all in the County Cork; and after his death this portion of the poet's estates descended to Hugolin Spencer of Rinny, as eldest son and heir of Peregrine, who was dispossessed of them by Cromwell. During Cromwell's usurpation in Ireland it appears to have been the rule of the Government to make fee farm leases or grants of all such estates as came into their possession or under their control; and we find that Peregrine Spenser was in 1656, though then deceased, charged with the fee farm rent of £1 7s. 6d. for the late house of ye ffryers of Killnemalagh alias Buttevant; and at the same time Edmund Spenser was called upon to pay the sum of £9 10s. 5½d. as tenant of the manor, towne, and lands of Killcolman, with others." (Book of Arrears of Fee Farm Rents, 1656).

Amongst the pensioners in Cromwell's Court List Establishment, under the heading Clonmell, figures Katherine Spencer, a captain's widow, and 5 children, at 7/- per week; and to William Spencer, Cromwell made a lease of the tithes in the County Galway.

Peregrine Spenser, named above, was married to Dorothy Morris, otherwise Maurice. Their son, Hugolin Spencer of Rinny, gentleman, was a Roman Catholic, and married in or about 1649, Eleanor, the widow of William Roche of Ballymaclaurance, County Cork; and on the 6th of November, in the 14th year of Charles II. Hugolin and his wife presented their claim under the Acts of Settlement, &c., for the purpose of being restored to their estate. Their claims having been heard on the 21st of August of the following year, they were as innocent Papists adjudged to be entitled to the property claimed by them. (Decree of Innocence in Exchequer of Ireland, Roll XI.)

The Court of Exchequer having charged Edmund Spenser, as tenant of Kilcolman and other land, with the yearly fee farm rent of £9 10s. 5½d., the tenants thereof, John Butts, John O. Hannowle, John Colpis, and Wm. Shanachan appeared and stated that that rent was reserved "upon an antient pattent granted of ye said lands with other lands to Edmund Spenser, Esq., who was former proprietor thereof," and the Court finding that the lands were granted by patent to Edmund Spenser, exonerated the said tenants from the payment of that rent. By the Auditor-General's report attached to this order, it appears that the lands of Kilcolman and Lisnamucky, contained 314 acres of profitable and 93 acres of unprofitable land, and Knocknamaddery, 1,003 acres of profitable and 189 acres of unprofitable land; that they were the property of William Spencer, English Papist, and had been disposed of to Captain Peter Courthorpe and his troops of the Earl of Orrery's late regiment, in anno 1654. (Original Exchequer Order of Michaelmas Term, 1661).

In 1668 Hugolin Spenser, as tenant of the lands of Reny or Rinny, held at £6 8s. 11d. a year, was indebted to the King in 55s. 3d. for part of three years ended Michaelmas 1668, a charge included in the County

Sheriff's account, but by an Order of the Court in 1673, it was decided to be struck out of that account.

By an Inquisition taken at the King's Old Castle, Cork, August 15th, 1694, it was found that Hugolin Spenser, gentleman, late of Renny, was outlawed on the 11th of June by Act of 3rd William and Mary for high treason at Mallow; that he by deed dated August 9th, 1673, had mortgaged the town and lands of Rinny to Pierce Power; that he had the several rectories hereinafter named; and that a chief rent of 40 shillings was payable out of the lands of Rinny to the Earl of Cork and Burlington. The forfeited estates of Hugolin Spenser was claimed by William Spenser as next Protestant heir, and in consideration of his sacrifices, sufferings, and losses in the late troubles in Ireland; and on the 14th of June anno 9 his Majesty granted to Nathaniel Spenser, gentleman, son of the said William, the townlands of Renny, 332 acres; Killahorry, 63 acres; and the rectories and impropriate titles of Renny, Nowens alias S. Nowens, Templebreedy alias Kilbride, and Brinny, in the County Cork.

In the Book of Arrears of Crown and Quit Rent of the year 1702, the following entries are to be found: County Cork—Hugolin Spenser, Fermoy barony—

Renyal's Riny, 1 pl'd Irish acres, 395; Applotment of £27,000—	£11	2	3
Buttevant ¼ pl'd Irish acres, 30 ,, ,,		0	16 10
425		£11	19 1

Past to Nathaniell Spencer, Applotment of £24,000—£27 os. 5½d.

On the 22nd of July, 1717, a Mr. Francis Hely of Coolshanavally, County Cork, filed a Bill in the Irish Court of Chancery in relation to the lands of Grenagh, part of the estate of Sir Matthew Deane demised to Michael Barry, in trust for a Teige McCartie and leased to William Spencer, late of Renny, by which bill the plaintiff accuses Nathaniel Spenser, son and heir of William, of a confederacy with the MacCarties to prevent the plaintiff from obtaining a lease of the above-mentioned lands.

On the 24th January, 1743, a Bill was filed in the Exchequer of Ireland by Edmund Wall against Edmund Spenser, Pierce Power, sen. and jun.; and William Power. This bill records that Hugolin when seized in fee of the lands of Rynny had mortgaged them (as already stated above) to Pierce Power, the elder, for £300 and £20 per annum interest, and that he forfeited his estate in 1688; and that Dorothy, his only child, married the same Pierce Power, who exhibited his claim to the Trustees for the sale of the forfeited estates and paid £20 chief per annum to the Earl of Cork for the said lands. It further appears by this record that Dorothy Power (*nee* Spenser) died in 1690, leaving three children, Hugoline, Pierce and William, all Catholics, and that Hugoline, the eldest, married a daughter of Richard Barret; that William III. granted Hugolin's forfeited estate to William Spenser, and that he left a son, Nathaniel, who died in the year 1718, leaving Edmund, his grandson and heir; and that there was an Act passed in the English Parliament in the first year of Anne for the relief of William Spenser and the wife and children of Lord Kenmare. The King's letter granting William Spenser Hugolin's forfeited estate is recorded in the Rolls of the Chancery of Ireland, and bears date the 23rd of April, 1697.

Amongst the Irish Chancery Records is also to be found a bill filed on the 31st October, 1720, by Susannah Spencer, spinster, against Jephson Busteed, Rosamund Bulkeley alias Spencer, Frederick Trench, Robert Peppard and Henry Browne, and on the 24th of June, 1721, a bill was filed in the same court by Joseph Nagle, Esq., against Jephson Busteed, George Hide, the same Rosamund, William Spencer, John Locke, and Garret Nagle."

This ends Mr. Ferguson's gleanings. The Renny or Reny mentioned above as the property of Spenser's descendants was probably that part of the county bordering on the Atlantic now known as the Rennies, as it is mentioned in connection with Templebreedy, near Camden Fort, between which and Kinsale the Rennies form a little bay to the south of the village of Nohoval, which is probably the St. Nowen above mentioned. The Captain Peter Courthorpe named above was probably the Sir Peter Courthorpe, of Little Island, who rented Belvelly Castle in 1636, and was M.P. for Cork in 1661. (Vide *Journal*, No. 8, June, 1895.)

Necrology.—Died in London, January 21st, Mr. George M. Atkinson, for many years Art Examiner in South Kensington Museum, and a former member of our Society. Mr. Atkinson was a native of Queenstown, the eldest son of Captain Atkinson, the famous marine painter of that town, all of whose family inherited his artistic talents. Mr. G. M. Atkinson was in his early days, an ardent Irish archæologist, and contributed the following papers to the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*:—Notes on a Bronze Ring found at Ballinhassig, Co. Cork, vol. xv, 638; Kitchen Middens in Cork Harbour, xii, 638; Glass Beads and Jet Ornaments, xvi, 69; Silver Mace of Cork Guild, xvii., 341-352; Antiquities Conserved by Board of Works, Ireland, xviii, 249; Font in Cashel Cathedral, xix, 141; Stone Circle, Lissavageen, xvi., 306; On Oghams at Lisgenan and Glenawillan, xvi., 307; William, iv., 404. Mr. Atkinson also edited his friend, R. R. Brash's great archæological work, "The Ogham Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil," which was published at London in 1879. Some of his early paintings are now in the possession of his relative, Mrs. Atkinson, Church street, Queenstown.

To Mr. Philip Raymond, formerly of the London Police, who died at the College, Mitchelstown, on the 31st January, aged 95, our *Journal* was indebted for an interesting article on "The Condons of Cloghleagh, Barony of Condons and Clongibbons," published in No. 23, November, 1896.

J. C.

Reviews of Books.

The Dance Music of Ireland, by Capt. Francis O'Neill. Chicago: Lyon & Healy, 1907. Price \$1.50.

This artistically produced volume of 1,001 airs is the best value in the musical way that has come under our notice for a long time. In turning over its pages the eye alights on many a well-known merry tune that has held a foremost place in the affections of dancers from time immemorial.

A classification, by which hornpipes, jigs, reels, &c., respectively, appear together, is adopted in the volume, which possesses many advantages and which is to be commended. Our Irish musical publications are a veritable hotchpotch. There is a want of system apparent in them, and we are constantly reminded of the painful fact, that, in the midst of life there is death, by finding in them a sprightly jig followed by a melancholy caoine. This arrangement may be necessary and even unavoidable in short collections, but it is undesirable and somewhat inconvenient in larger ones. The streets of far-off Chicago, where the wear and tear of life is so great, do not occur to one as being a very congenial place for the fosterage and development of musical tastes; still, the Editor of this volume, who has recently retired from the responsible position of General Superintendent of Police of that populous city, has very laudably and patriotically devoted his spare moments to the preservation of the folk music of his native land. This is not the first extensive collection of Irish music published by him—a still larger and more varied volume appeared from his pen a few years since. When—one is tempted to ask—may we expect a County or District Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary to emulate the example set by Capt. O'Neill?

The Ulster Journal of Archæology (vol. xiii., part 4) contains some excellent articles on a variety of subjects. The Editor, Mr. F. J. Bigger, contributes two—one on Hugh O'Donnell, Parish Priest of Belfast, 1770-1814, and the other on the Abbey of Holy Cross at Woodburn, near Carrigfergus. Mr. E. R. MacC. Dix supplies a well-stocked list of Newry printing from 1764 to 1810. "The Ulster Civil War, 1641," is the title of a very readable paper by Thomas FitzPatrick, LL.D. The illustrations, usually in black and white, are a special feature of the *Journal*.

The Waterford Archæological Journal for the quarter, Oct.-Dec., 1907, contains, amongst other items, an instalment of a valuable paper by the Rev. Patrick Power on the Place Names of the Decies.

The *Catholic Record Society*, recently formed in London for the publication of the Catholic annals, historical documents, family memoranda, &c., connected with these islands, contains a curious and interesting contribution in its second volume from the pen of our fellow-member, Mr. Alfred Molony. It is entitled, "Petition of Denis Molony to Parliament to be allowed to practise at the Bar." Mr. Molony supplies many biographical and illustrative details concerning his kinsman (including an extract from the inscription on his tombstone in St. Pancras Churchyard, London), from which it appears that Denis was admitted to Gray's Inn in the year 1687; that he was nephew to the Most Rev. John O'Molony, Bishop of Limerick; and that he died in 1726. The petition is copied from a MS. in the Bodleian Library.

The *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, Ireland*, for the latter half of last year is unusually large and profuse in its illustrations. The different counties are nearly all well represented, and it is some time since we have handled a more informing number. There are some very interesting notes and observations, parti-



THE RORY BUI MACMAHON SLAB, 1575.
 KILMORE CHURCHYARD, CO. MEATH.

cularly by Mr. J. R. Garstin, who gives the readings on some sixteenth century slabs, which are now difficult to decipher even by the trained and experienced epigraphist.

The last number of the *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* (vol. v., No. 1) appeared at the commencement of this year in its wonted style. Its illustrations are well executed, and the paper on which it is printed is of a superior description and suitable for photographic illustrations. An account of last summer's excursion of the Society, written by Colonel J. P. Nolan, is lit up with humour and information. Lord Oranmore and Browne commences what promises to be an interesting paper on the "Pedigree of the Brownes of Castle MacGarrett." A useful paper appears on the bibliography of Connacht, by Mr. J. Coleman, with a supplement by Mr. Martin J. Blake. The latter gentleman is now engaged in editing the municipal records of the city at the time of the Restoration, for the Journal. There are also other papers of much local importance.

J. B.

A Chapter on Irish Church History : Being some Personal Recollections of Life and Service in the Church of Ireland. By Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore, M.A., R.D., V.P.R.S.A.I. Dublin : Church of Ireland Publishing Co. Price 1s.

In this very readable brochure, written in his usual pleasant and attractive style, Canon Moore, of Mitchelstown, whose name is so well known as a constant contributor to the pages of this *Journal*, recalls very many interesting and important episodes incidental to his clerical career, and lucidly describes the many changes that have taken place in Irish social life during the past three decades more especially. His sketches of the various distinguished Churchmen he has known, such as Archbishops Whately and Trench, Bishops Magee and Butcher, and, to come nearer home, Bishop John Gregg and his son, Robert, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, are both interesting and informing, and must afford much pleasure to the many local persons who still remember the latter two prominent and eminent residents of Cork. Though appealing more particularly to members of his own denomination, neither in this little work, nor in any other of Canon Moore's numerous writings, can be found a trace of that sectarian bitterness which still forms the bane of Irish life; so that all classes of Irishmen, who take an interest in their country's past, will welcome the publication and derive pleasure and profit from the perusal of Canon Moore's charmingly-written *Chapter of Irish Church History*.

A Brief Memoir of the Right Hon. Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight Banneret, P.C., M.P. By Thomas Ulick Sadleir, B.L. Hertford : Austin & Sons. 1907.

This brief memoir furnishes a very interesting and impartial account of the life of Sir Ralph Sadleir, the ancestor of two Irish families who bear his name, viz., the Sadleirs of Castletown and of Sopwell Hall, in the Co. Tipperary, and also of Lord Ashtown, of Glennaheiry. Though the friend and protege of Thomas Cromwell, "the Mauler of the Monasteries," and the devoted and well-rewarded servant of Henry VIII., who made him principal Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and

sent him repeatedly as his ambassador to Scotland and elsewhere, Sir Ralph Sadleir's career was free from the misdeeds that have tarnished the reputation of his early patron and his royal master; and his guardianship of Mary Queen of Scots was most creditable to him, so much so that his kindness to the captive Scottish Queen met with reproof from Queen Elizabeth. Though not always successful in his negotiations, he nevertheless was held in high esteem by his contemporaries. A most interesting and minute account of his various missions is given in the series of letters he left, which were published in 1720, and again in 1809, under title of *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadleir, Knight Banneret*—the notes to which last edition, together with a sketch of his life, were written by Sir Walter Scott. C.

The Cromlechs of Lough Gur. By P. J. Lynch. Limerick: Guy and Co., 1907.

"In his memorable paper on Lough Gur in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1833, Crofton Croker expressed his regret that it was out of his power to make a complete survey of the monuments there, which he considered to be the most extensive and yet least known of their kind in existence. As an important and interesting contribution to our knowledge of this locality, we therefore extend a cordial welcome to Mr. Lynch's brochure on the Lough Gur Cromlechs (which forms a reprint of his paper in the last issue of the Limerick Field Club's Journal), which, furthermore, supplies us with some brief notes on the history of this locality, together with excellent plans and illustrations, and accurate measurements, with other details of the two most notable cromleacs here, known as Leaba na muice and Leaba Dhiarmada agus Ghrainne.

Mr. Lynch's pamphlet, it is to be regretted, does not deal fully with the Lough Gur antiquarian remains, which were examined by Windele in 1840; for he merely mentions, without giving any particulars, three other cromleacs, in the Ballynagallagh, Grillagh and Ardanreagh townlands; nor does he inform us where those other cromleacs stood of which he says there is now no trace. Crofton Croker describes two other cromleacs, and Borlase yet another, not alluded to by Mr. Lynch; besides which the sites of three more are still pointed out by old people living at Lough Gur.

Respecting the Leaba na muice cromleac, the local tales told at Lough Gur concerning the black pig and the giant with the golden sword will be found to have a direct bearing on this monument; and we do not find it stated that there was another Leaba na muice about five miles to the north of Lough Gur, near Ballyneety; and that the track of the great prehistoric road also to the north of the Lough, was named Gleann na muice duibhe, and south of the Lough was named Cladh na leac.

The cromleac named Leaba na muice by Mr. Lynch was called Labig-diarmuid by Crofton Croker, who found it uninjured, and consisting of a triangular table stone resting on three pillar stones. This cromleac, as Mr. Lynch points out, Borlase has confounded with Leaba Dhiarmada agus Ghrainne, and, we have to add, is the cromleac named in Gough's "Camden's Britannia," and not that associated with the circle of Rounach Cromdubh, as Borlase supposes. Formerly enclosed in a mound, this monument, named Leaba Dhiarmada agus Ghrainne, is, in fact, not a true

cromleac, but that kind of grave, which Du Chaillu ("The Viking Age") designates as stone coffin, of which there were two kinds, one enclosed in mounds and the other not.

Of the cromleac or monument which Croker terms Labig Yermuddagh a Grana he tells a curious tale related to him by Garrett Punch, which, with some slight variation, we have heard also from the late Edward Fitzgerald. We should have been glad to find some information supplied as to the three stone circles near it, the second cromleac here, described by Croker, and the remarkable stone avenue and lines of stones also here. When Mr. Borlase, we may mention, was written to in reference to his inadequate treatment of these Lough Gur cromleacs, he replied that when there he could get no one to give him any particulars respecting them. But that the name Leaba na muice ought have been known to him is shown by his having made quotations from the paper on "Lough Gur" published in this *Journal* in 1895, in which it occurs.

On Carriggalla, recte Carriggal, i.e., the white rock, are remains of two stone forts, neither of which can be Dun Gair; for in the Manister documents to which Mr. Lynch refers, Dungeir, that is, Dun Gair, is stated to be the name of the island belonging to the vill of Locgeir, or Loch Gair, now Lough Gur. Hence Knockadoon, the island's present name, which means the hill of the dun (of Gar or Gur).

Mr. Lynch's statement that the Ui-Fidhgeinte territory extended to Lough Gur, we cannot accept; for according to the "Book of Rights," p. 67, the river Maigue formed its eastern boundary. Lough Gur and Knockaney were in Deisebeg, a district of Ara Cliach (vide O'Heerin's Poem and the "Book of Rights"). At the time of the Tain Bo Cualnge Eochaid Beg was King of Knockaney, which Windisch, p. 852, states was, in the olden time, a place of renown. The battle of Aine, fought here in 663, is mentioned in "Chronicon Scotorum" and the Ui 'h' Enna are mentioned in Dr. Todd's "Cogadh Gaedhel," one of whom, Maolrinn, King of Knockaney, fought at Clontarf. Lough Gur and Knockaney belonged to the Arada or neolithic colonists of Ara Cliach, over whom or their territory the Ui-Fidhgeinte exercised no control.

The Manister document mentions a townland in Corballi, called Enach culi, i.e., marsh of the corner or angle; and in the Knockaney document (State Paper, A.D. 1288) Corbalydaly is mentioned—two places which Mr. Lynch considers identical and at Lough Gur; yet the one was miles to the west of it, whilst the other was some miles south of it.

Enach Chuli, Mr. Lynch is of opinion, is Oenach (Aenach or Aonach) Culi Mna Nechtain, that celebrated royal pagan cemetery of Ireland mentioned in various early Irish documents, by Petrie in his "Round Towers," by Dr. Sullivan in his "Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*," and by Brash in his "Oghams," but it was proved by the present writer to have been located at Lough Gur in the article on Lough Gur published in this *Journal* in the year 1897, in which it was shown that Oenach Culi Mna Nechtain and Oenach Sen Clochair were both names for the same Oenach, i.e., assembly, fair green, &c. Oenachs were first held at pagan graves for funeral rites, but later on came to be an ordinary meeting place or assembly for sports, fairs, &c., so that the word aonach in its modern sense means a fair or fair-green.

The similarity of the name Enach Chuli, not Aenach Chuli, as Mr.

Lynch writes it, to Aenach (Oenach) Chuli has doubtless led him astray on this point. The former name means marsh of the corner, while the later means assembly, gathering, or fair-green of Cuil. Cuil also occurs as a personal name in the "Lismore Lives of Saints," p. 232, for Raith Hua Cuile in East Fermoy means fort of the race of Cuil. O'Cuile as a family name in West Cork is now turned into Cooley, as stated by Dr. O'Donovan in his "Corca Laidhe," p. 543. Nechtan, supposed by Professor Rhys to be borrowed from the Latin Neptune, is from the Irish necht, which means handsome or bright (vide "Silva Gadelica," p. 543). Oenach or aonach comes from the Irish oen or aon, one, and aenach, a marsh, possibly from the old word for water.

It is astonishing to find Mr. Lynch, and the Rev. J. Begley in his recently published "History of Limerick Diocese," both making the assertion that this Enach Chuli in Corbali of the Manister document (State Paper, A.D. 1200) is the Oenach Culi Mna Nechtain, or assembly of Cuil, wife of Nechtan (as O'Grady renders it in "Silva Gadelica"); and further Clughur of the same document is carried off by these writers to Dromin parish, from Lough Gur, where we located it—simply because there is a townland in Dromin named Clogher, though it must be added Mr. Lynch, whilst agreeing with Father Begley about Enach Chuli in Corbali, observes in a note that "If this Aenach was identical with the Aenach Clocher of East Limerick, then I would not say that Clochar, or Clogher, was the townland in Dromin parish, as Father Begley supposes."

Now, if we turn to the Manister document we find given in immediate succession the following names: "The grange of Locgeir, a moiety of Dungeir, the island which belongs to the vill of Locgeir, Finnen, Corthascin, Clugher, Cromcon, the mill of Almarain with its land of Arddarigan, Greal Laochilonbegan to Catercurrith, Rathean, &c." In this list Locgeir is Loch Gair or Lough Gur; Dungeir is Dun Gair; Finnen is Fimmel, preserved in Knockfimmel, the name of the highest hill at Lough Gur, the final "n" having become "l," a change not unusual in Irish place names; Corthascin was explained by the late John Hayes, then a nonagenarian, as the round-hill of the barn, which he said was the name of the hill a short distance west of Lough Gur and a little to the north of Caherguillamore House. Arddarigan means red hill, and is the old name, of Ardanreagh, the soil of this hill being red. Rathean is now Raheen, a little to the west of Loughgur, where there is a stone monument supposed by Mr. Owen Bresnan to be a ruined cromleac. Greal Laochilonbegan appears to be Grillagh, where some extraordinary archæological discoveries have been made. Cromchon seems to be derived from Cromcheann or Stoophead, and was the name applied to the Stoophead pillar stone in Croker's paddock, north of the stone circles in Grange, and not far from the site of the great Stone Chair.

Clughur therefore cannot be separated from the group of Loughgur names and transferred to Dromin or elsewhere from Loughgur. Our idea is that the stone circles in Grange were at Clughur, and that it extended some distance to the north. The great cup-shaped depression, with its stone avenue, a little to the north-west of the Grange stone circles, we identify as the site of the celebrated Raith Clochair, mentioned early in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and noted as "unidentified" by Dr. O'Donovan.

In *Silva Gadelica*, p. 118, Oenach Culi Mna Nechtain is identified with Oenach Sen Clochair, and is said to be close to the route between Cullen (near the Limerick junction) and Ardpatrick. This disposes of the claim of Clogher in Dromin parish. In *Mesca Ulad* Cuchulaind, who is supposed to be standing on the top of Knockaney Hill, is reported as saying: "Oenach Sen Clochair is here." That Oenach Culi, otherwise Oenach Sen Clochair, i.e., old Cloghur or Clogher, was at Lough Gur is further evident by a comparison of the passages in *Silva Gadelica*, pp. 118, 141; in *Mesca Ulad*, p. 19; in O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 305; and in Lady Gregory's *Gods and Fighting Men*, p. 299.

At or near Lough Gur, which appears to have been long renowned for its white rocks, the earliest reference to which occurs in *Mesca Ulad*, p. 14, there were at least four of the royal forts of Munster, viz., Cathair Chinn Chon, Dun Fir Aen Cholca, Cathair Meathais, and Dun Gair (vide *Book of Rights*, p. 80) one of which probably had been on that rock named Carriganahin by Crofton Croker, now usually known as Carriganaffrin or the Rock of the Mass, on which Croker was told the Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Keating celebrated Mass, a statement he disbelieved, nor have any of the present oldest inhabitants at Loughgur ever heard of his having been there.

According to the old Ordnance Map the fort on the Mass Rock was named Carriggalla fort; but Carriggalla is at the east side of the lake. In Lough Ceann, otherwise Loch Silenn (Siglenn) at a short distance from Lough Gur, is an island on which was also a royal fort. This lake (Loch Ceann) is mentioned in the life of St. Findchua of Brigown, near Mitchelstown, on and near Knockderk in this locality are several cairns and stone circles. Round Lough Ceann, which is now quite dry, human bones and antique weapons have been from time to time found. The *Chronicon Scotorum*, A.D. 856, mentions that Gorman, Royal heir of Cashel, was slain in the island fort by the Norse, the site of which is now occupied by the farmhouse of Mrs. Ryan. In his Map of Loughgur, Croker marks some of the stone circles at Knockderk, but not those on the hill itself. We have located about 30 stone circles at Lough Gur, some of which may have belonged to cairns.

The Gleann na muice duibhe of Lough Gur, to which Mr. Grene Barry first directed attention, is marked on the Down Survey Map, and named Boherleagane, or road of the pillar stones. Similarly named roads in the Counties Cork and Down are mentioned in the *Book of Rights*, p. 136, and in the 5th Volume of the *Ossianic Society*, p. 166. At Lodan Hill, about 4 miles north of Lough Gur, this Gleann na muice duibhe divides into two branches—one leading to Lios Ghuaire, one of the seats of the King of Cashel, near Moroe village; the other passing by Cahirnarry Hill to Singland, near Limerick City. This latter name probably comes from the Irish Cathair an aodhaire. Borlase, in his *Dolmens of Ireland*, speaks of the Pig legend of the Curragh of Kildare as connected with a road leading thence and running through a vale in the plain called Gleann na muice duibhe. Of the original breadth of this ancient road it would be difficult now to form an idea, wrote O'Donovan, who regarded it as one of the royal roads named in the *Dinnshenchas* as leading to the green rath and royal palace of Ailleann.

There are, it may be added, four bullauns at Loughgur of which some legendary particulars have survived. One is very large, is excavated in the solid rock, and contains some gallons of water. Beside it, the people say, stood a stone chair, portions of which are still left. This chair was named Ruadh Suidhe, i.e., the red seat. The bullaun is on the top of a rock north-east of a group of stone circles. Near these is a field belonging to the John Hynes mentioned by Mr. J. Grene Barry in the last number of the *Limerick Journal*. Hynes told us that a little under the surface are a great number of stone graves, some of which he found to contain human bones, and in two or three iron implements, which show them to be of a later period than the Cromleacs.

But to go back to the Aonach, it is stated in "*Silva Gadelica*," p. 140, that the sports of the assembly were held at the foot of the high hill which dominates Lough Gur. This hill, however, is not Knockadoon, as stated by Mr. O'Grady in "*Silva Gadelica*," p. 140, but Knockfennel, the hill which actually overlooks Lough Gur.

Oenach Sen Clochair ought now, as in former days, become the Mecca of Munster folk; and we trust that Mr. Lynch's valuable brochure will now succeed in attracting that attention to it which should have been paid it ever since the time when Crofton Croker described in such glowing terms the remarkable remains at Lough Gur.

Old Clogher of Munster has still some of its monuments left; but the majority have perished.

"Gone what once the eye delighted,
With the ages long ago."

J. F. L.

Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XXV. Inverness, 1907.

The Gaelic Society of Inverness has for its objects "The cultivation of the Gaelic Language and the rescuing from oblivion of the Celtic legends, traditions and manuscripts." The Society is in a flourishing condition, and the list of its office-bearers for the last five years exhibits the names of the representatives of historic Highland clans—Lochiel, Lovat, MacDonald, &c. There has been some delay in the publication of the "*Transactions*," but the Editor ventures to say with a just confidence, which many readers will cordially endorse: "The contents of the volume will, it is hoped, be some consolation for its lateness." Most of the contributions are scholarly productions, which discuss their subjects with great thoroughness. There are several specimens of Scottish Gaelic in its different dialects, all intelligible, with more or less difficulty, to anyone moderately versed in the Irish Language. Specially easy to follow is the speech of Colonel MacGregor at the annual meeting, composed in a dialect that closely approximates to Donegal Irish.

The first of the Gaelic contributions is in the dialect of the Isle of Skye—*Turus Ruaidhri dò 'n Exhibition*—taken down word for word from the narrative of an islander who went to the Glasgow Exhibition. With his limited vocabulary Rury gives quite a graphic description of the inventions and institutions of advanced Civilization, which he had an opportunity of observing for the first time in his life. He was no admirer

of the music of the Exhibition orchestra, for what could be expected from persons "who were trying to play and to read a book (music book) at the same time"—an impossibility which he illustrates by a homely Gaelic proverb. So we are not surprised that he expressed a decided preference for the familiar *ceól* of "Donal bán Mac Owen, or any other good piper in Skye." The Skye dialect diverges more widely than the others from the Irish standard. About one hundred pages are taken up with the next Gaelic contribution, which consists of an extensive series of tales, linked together under the title of "*Sgeulachd Coise Cein*," laboriously collected by Rev. Dr. Henderson. An incident in the life of Cian Mac Maolmuaid is made to serve as the occasion for the recital of numerous disconnected stories. Thus the framework in which the tales are placed is Irish, as are most of the tales themselves. King Brian, his son Murchad, and Cian (whose name, however, in some variants is altered to O'Cein), and several Norse champions were names familiar as household words to the Highland bards and story-tellers, who either never heard or did not care to preserve the names of Bruce, Wallace and other celebrities of the "*Galldacht*," or Lowlands.

Besides the Gaelic contributions there are several papers in English on Gaelic subjects. Of these the most scholarly and interesting is that on "*The Place-Names of Inverness*," by A. MacBain, LL.D. A perusal of this paper may be prescribed as a specific for the "*Cacoethes derivandi*" which in recent years has been much in evidence in this country. It will give the ordinary derivation-mongers some idea of the philological equipment necessary for a task which, they seem to think, requires no other qualification than a capacity for audacious guessing. They are quite unaware of the fact that most of our place-names were imposed in the period of the "*Middle Irish*," from words long since gone out of use and not to be found in our modern Irish dictionaries; they have not heard or read of the laws of "*Derivation and Composition*," which are quite as definite in Irish as in the Greek and Latin languages, in whose advanced grammars this subject is so copiously treated.

To trace the origin of the place-names of Inverness is a rather complex problem. That territory was occupied successively by Picts, Gaels and Norsemen, and was re-occupied by the Gaels. Hence there are Pictish, Gaelic, Norse and hybrid names. The Picts were Brythonic Celts, and so the test letter *p* (only in more recent times developed in the Gaelic), and the test word "*aber*" (Gaelic *Inbher*) serve to discriminate the first two of the above classes of names. As the Norse occupation of the Outer Hebrides and some other districts lasted more than four centuries, that people naturally left the impress of their language on numerous localities. They formed hybrid names by attaching "*ey*" (lately often written "*ay*") to the preceding Celtic name of an island, as *Ericksay*, *Lingay*, &c. *Dalkey*, from *dealg-ey*, is one of the very few Irish examples. Sometimes Dr. MacBain needlessly recurs to the Norse to explain a name, as, for instance, "*Clar Sgith*," the appellation given in Highland poems to Skye. Were he better acquainted with Irish Gaelic he would find that this was a perfectly good Celtic expression, being commonly used by Irish bards, as, for example, "*Clar Banbhan*," the "*Plain of Ireland*," "*Clar Musgraidhe*," the plain or expanse of Muskerry, &c. There are

more than twenty examples of this usage in O'Heerin's and O'Dugan's topographical poems. Dr. MacBain shows that Saints' names, generally with the prefix Cill (Kil), occur in abundance throughout Inverness; there are as many Kilmurrys (Kilmuirs and Kilmoreys), Kilbrides and Kilcoluims, as in most Irish counties. Tober (well) enters into the composition of many place-names, and the author takes occasion to refer to the cultus of wells as a distinctive feature of Celtic Paganism, but it might be easily shown that this cultus was quite as much a feature of the religion of Greece and Rome. The passage of the Gallo-Roman poet, Ausonius, "*Fons addite divis*," is not correctly rendered by the author "dedicated to the gods." It is plainly a reminiscence of Virgil's address to Hercules, "*Decus addite Divis*." (*Aeneid. Lib. viii., 301.*)

The paper which bears the title "Fragments of Breadalbane Folk-lore" contains interesting information about popular beliefs and customs now rapidly disappearing. We were prepared to find an exact correspondence between the fairy mythology of the Highlands and the fairy mythology of Ireland. But among the Scottish Gaels there was recognised a class of fairies (now unknown in Ireland) called *Urisks*, and supposed to haunt certain fountains and streams, and thus, except that they are described as masculine, resembling the classic *Naiads*. In the Breadalbane list of these ¹ sprites and of their haunts occurs the name "*Paderlán of Fearnán*." The latter name is identical with "*Farnanes*" (Irish. *Fearnán*), the name of a townland in East Muskerry. The name *Paderlán* suggests the derivation of "*Tobar Parlain*" (phonetically spelled), *Parlain's Well* near *Canovee Church*, and of a similarly-named well near *Coachford*. The extrusion of the letter "d" between vowels is in accordance with a well-known law of change observed not only in Irish, but in many languages, as, e.g., *Rhodanus* changed into *Rhone*. In the same paper is given the form of incantation used by those who practised in the Highlands that species of witchcraft, at one time so familiarly spoken of in Ireland, by which it was sought to appropriate a neighbour's milk and butter. The form of words is thus given: "*Bainne an te sho shuas, bainne an te sho shios nam gogan mor fein*." The word "*gógan*" in the foregoing (in other districts, as in that of Donegal "*gúgan*") meant a wooden vessel for holding a liquid. Here we have the true derivation of *Gougane Barra*, *Barra's cup* or *basin*, which latter name is still a geographical term. *Gougane* has been explained by our derivationists as "*a recess*," but they do not attempt to show any authority for this use of the word. *Gougane* was, thus, an old metaphorical name of the lake, and became the name of the surrounding locality.²

J. O'M.

¹ The superstitions of the twentieth century need not be laboriously collected, as folklore, among country people; they can be found in the advertising columns of great London journals, which show that there is a brisk demand for mascots, crystals for crystal-gazing (£2 a piece), infants' cauls, palmistry. The advertisers are not greatly beyond *Urisks* and *Pookas*.

² Incidentally it may be remarked that Callanan makes no allusion to *St. Finbar* in his well-known poem. Under the influence of Gray's "*Bard*" he peopled the place with imaginary bards, but forgot the historic *Finbar*.

Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society.

A Short Sketch of the North Cork Regiment of Militia, 9th Bn. K.R.R.

Raised 1793. Disbanded March 31st, 1908.

By ROBERT DAY, PRESIDENT.



THE North Cork Regiment, No. 34 on the Irish Establishment, was raised by Government levy in the North Riding of the County Cork in the months of April, May and June, 1793. It numbered 26 officers, 24 sergeants, 16 drummers, 12 fifiers, and 446 rank and file, under the command of Viscount Kingsborough, with John de Courcey, 26th Baron Kingsale, as Lieut.-Colonel. Its Major was John Newenham; Captains, John Wallis, David Franks, James Lombard, Richard Foote, and Edward Heard; Captain Lieutenant Honble. William de Courcey; Lieutenants, Charles Vinters, Stephen O'Hea, John Norcott, David Williams, John O'Hea, William Johnston, Michael Stewart, James Glover; Chaplain, Rev. T. Barry; Adjutant, Hon. Wm. de Courcey; Quarter Master, Charles Vinters; Surgeon, Daniel Williams; Agents Armit, Burrough & Co. Uniform red, facings yellow.

The regiment, after its embodiment, was moved to Limerick, and broken up into detachments to various parts of that county. In 1796 its headquarters were at Naas, Co. Kildare, and in '98 the regiment, 432 strong, was in Dublin when the rebellion of that year broke out. The garrison was then almost drained of regular troops, and the defence of the city was largely entrusted to the militia and yeomanry. From the small number of troops in the country it was the custom to break up regiments into small parties for detachment duty. One fatal example of the evil attendant on such a practice occurred to a company of the North Cork at Prosperous, a small town which was the centre of the cotton industry of Ireland. It had been garrisoned by fifty of the North Cork, under Captain Swayne, and twenty of Wynn's Ancient Britons Dragoons. In the deadeast hour of the early morning the sentinels on guard were surprised and killed, some soldiers were slaughtered in their beds in the houses on which they were billeted, while the barracks was surrounded and set on fire. Many of the men perished in the flames or by suffocation; some sprang from the windows and were caught upon the pikes of the assailants. The remainder tried to cut their way through, but nearly all perished.

The news that the country had risen had been brought early in the day

to Wexford. The garrison in the town was scanty, but Lieut.-Colonel Foote was sent out after breakfast with 110 men of his regiment, the North Cork, and 30 or 40 mounted yeomanry of Lehunt's, a force considered amply sufficient to subdue any resistance which they were likely to meet with, and supposing he had to deal only with a mob of undisciplined peasants, he flung himself on a body of men fifty times his number, mad with the excitement of a religious war, and armed with pikes, which in determined hands were gradually discovered to be most formidable weapons. The Irish were under the command of the Rev. Father John Murphy, who, seeing he was to be attacked, had divided his force with extemporised generalship. Finding the enemy were standing better than they had anticipated, the troops fell back to re-form, when they found they were surrounded and their retreat cut off; most of the yeomen deserted their comrades, and the North Cork were cut down almost to a man. There was no wounded in these encounters; every man that fell was despatched. The Colonel only, with a sergeant and three privates, made their way back to Wexford. Major Lombard, Captain de Courcey, and four other officers had been killed, namely, Lieut. Williams, Lieuts. Ware and Barry, and Ensign Keogh. The effect of Foote's defeat was frightful. The widows and children of the North Corkmen who had fallen at Oulart rushed about the streets of Wexford wringing their hands and shrieking, and the panic spread through the country. Father John, reposing for the night on the battlefield, at once sent out his scouts calling on all the peasants to shoulder their pikes and join him on the following morning.

Twelve miles above Wexford on the River Slaney stands the town of Enniscorthy, where the river is spanned by a bridge. The garrison consisted of 80 men of the North Cork and 220 yeomen. Captain Snowe, of the North Cork, was in command. These he posted on the bridge, with the yeomen in reserve. On the next morning, Whit Monday, Father John Murphy was early astir. The news of his triumph had rung a peal through every parish. He had secured the muskets and pouches of the dead soldiers, and found himself with 800 men, possessed of firearms, besides five thousand pikemen. It was a hot and brilliant morning. Father John was a born general; he threw out scouts on either side, who availed themselves of the natural cover and pressed on from bank to bank. The soldiers, raw hands, gave way, outnumbered twenty to one, fighting desperately inch by inch. As the enemy advanced they set fire to the houses on each side of the street, and the battle went on under an arch of flame. Father Murphy, seeing he could make no further progress and was throwing away lives unnecessarily, fell back to the fields outside and prepared to try again at nightfall. Meanwhile Captain Snowe, with his company of the North Cork, had held his ground gallantly. Foiled at the bridge, where the Irish had fallen in scores, they had twice attempted to force a passage above and below it, but were driven back at both points, and by two o'clock the town was cleared, and Enniscorthy was still in possession of Loyalists, although half the town was on fire, and of the garrison a third had been killed, beside the wounded. The North Cork had suffered severely; one detachment had been destroyed at Prosperous, another at Oulart. At Enniscorthy they fought with signal bravery, and had retreated only before superior numbers. On June the

5th, 1798, they were engaged at New Ross, which was then enclosed by a wall that had once resisted Cromwell. It had four gates—two at the lower part of the town by the waterside, through which the high road passed from Dublin to Waterford, and two at the upper.

General Johnstone had been sent to take charge of it with some English artillery, a squadron of dragoons, a Scotch fencible regiment, and the Antrim, Meath, Co. Dublin, and North Cork Militia Regiments. The North Cork, the Antrim, and dragoons were drawn up outside the three-bullet gate on open ground. It was now a little after 3 o'clock a.m., when the Irish bore down the hill towards them, and the conflict began by their



No. 1.—OFFICER, 1798.



No. 2.—PRIVATE, 1798.

lines opening, and between them came herds of wild cattle rushing on, urged forward by the rebel pikes. The pikemen formed behind the cattle, and charged with the fierceness of resolution for which the English and Scotch officers present were quite unprepared. They rushed upon the Dublin Regiment, commanded by Colonel Luke Gardiner, Viscount Mountjoy, and drove it back through the gate. He was mortally wounded and carried into the enemy's lines. The dragoons charged, but without effect, and recoiled with loss. A gun was captured, and the pikemen pouring into the town, fired the houses. Cannon had been placed in the long straight street which leads from the market place to the Bullet Gate, and poured round shot and grape into their dense masses. Multitudes fell. One entire column was annihilated. Brave as they were, they fell back for a while, and the troops had time to rally and re-form. But soon the enemy returned to the charge through smoke and flame, their courage

and their overwhelming numbers compensating for want of discipline and inferiority in arms. Johnstone's advantage was in the heavy guns, but the daring of the Irish defied artillery; four guns were taken, the troops forced backwards and downwards to the river, where the stone buildings became a fortress. At one time the Irish seemed to have won the day, but behind the river the broken troops had re-formed. Johnstone led them back at the bayonet's point, the guns were recovered and again worked havoc in the disordered crowds. Maxwell describes the carnage as so awful that it became too hideous to describe. In this action the North Cork lost 200 officers and men.

At Arklow, June 10, 1798, the North Cork Regiment was again engaged, and on June 24th one hundred of its men and a like number of yeomanry, under command of General Dunn, successfully defended the town of Athy in a night attack upon it.

During the six years (1808-1814) of the Peninsular War, the North Cork contributed 510 officers and men to swell the ranks of Wellington's victorious army, and well may this great General have said "that some of his best soldiers were raw recruits from the Irish Militia."¹ After Waterloo the standing army was much reduced, and on April 1st, 1816, the regiment was disembodied.

By the Act of June 30, 1852, for the re-organisation of the Militia, the entire construction of the force was materially altered, and by the subsequent Act of August, 1854, the numbers and the uniforms of the regiments underwent a complete change. To the North Cork was given the number 116, and their uniform changed to that of Rifles.

The list of officers, January, 1855, were:—

Colonel William H. Moore Hodder, late 88th Foot.

Lieut.-Col. Wm. St. Leger Alcock Stawell, late Capt. 23rd Foot.

Major Robert Atkins, late Capt. 60th Foot.

Captains—Robert Aldworth, Richard Lane Warren, John Robert Stawell, Frederic J. Rawlins, Edwd. Braddell, St. Leger Barry, Spencer G. Walsh, Poole Gabbett, J. Martin, Edward Hoare.

Lieutenants—Charles Lyster, Dominick Sarsfield, F. J. Blackburne, Robert Perry, Jas. E. F. Aylmer, Cornelius O'Callaghan, Chas. F. Knolles, John Foote, Thos. McCarthy.

Ensigns—Miles O'Reilly, Herbert Coghlan, Richd. G. Creagh, Js. Geo. Anderson, Wm. L. Howe, Rd. W. Stokes.

Adjutant—F. M. Callaghan. Surgeon—Js. F. Uniacke, M.D. Asst.-Surgeon—F. L'Estrange.

The regiment, after the war with Russia, was disembodied at Fermoy on August 29th, 1856. The number of volunteers given to the regular army during embodiment was 271.

The North Cork were again selected for embodiment during the India Mutiny War, and assembled at Mallow on September 15th, 1857. During the continuance of the India trouble the regiment was ordered to England, and sailed from Queenstown to Portsmouth for the camp at Shornecliff, where it arrived on June 14, 1858. Here it remained until ordered for service in Scotland, and while quartered at Ayr the regiment experienced a sad loss in the death of its commanding officer, Colonel William Moore Hodder, who, while dismounting from his horse in the barrack yard, fell

¹ Napier.

backwards on his head and never recovered consciousness. He died on Nov. 20th, 1859.

The route for Ireland having arrived, the regiment sailed for Queens-town, and was disembodied at Mallow, Feb. 28, 1860. The number of volunteers during the Indian Mutiny was 317, many of whom fought and bled in the Royal Artillery, the 64th and 84th Regiments, with Havelock's victorious column.

Under the Army Act of 1881 the name "North Cork Rifles" was abolished, and henceforth the regiment became the 9th Battalion of the King's Royal Rifle Corps.



No. 3.—OFFICER, 1814.



No. 4.—OFFICER, 1857.

On the 3rd of February, 1899, Colonel R. W. Aldworth died, and was succeeded by Sir Robert Uniacke Penrose-Fitzgerald, Bart., who was appointed to the Hon. Colonelcy of the battalion on March 8th, 1899.

By Special Army Order of May the 10th, 1899, authority was given for a new section to be formed in the Militia, and to be styled "The Special Service Section." The enrolment for this branch of the service took place at Kilworth Camp (during the training) in June, 1899, when the following numbers were enrolled, viz. :—4 sergeants, 5 corporals, and 94 privates.

Owing to the action of the South African Republics in October, '99, it was deemed necessary to embody a portion of the Militia, and by Royal Proclamation, dated 3rd Nov., 1899, the 9th Batt. King's Royal Rifles, having volunteered for foreign service, was one of the units selected, and the embodiment took place at Mallow on December 5, 1899, when the

battalion was found to number 765 officers, non-commissioned officers and men. On the 13th of January following orders were received directing the embarkation for South Africa to take place at Queenstown in the R.M.S.S. Nile—Transport “82”—and the following is a list of the officers that accompanied the regiment:—

Colonel William Cooke-Collis.

Majors—William Stopford, L. A. de V. Maunsell.

Captains—R. S. Brasier-Creagh, J. C. O. Aldworth, E. W. C. Dillon, A. W. Clerke, J. E. Martin, T. W. M. Fuge.

Lieutenants—J. Creagh, W. M. Percival Maxwell, W. J. N. Cooke-Collis, J. S. Hunt, T. Montgomery.

2nd Lieutenants—J. M. McKenzie, E. W. M. Maydwell, R. F. Guy, S. Hutchins.

Captain and Adjutant—R. Byron.

Captain and Quartermaster—W. Holmes.

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel J. Creagh, and E. D. F. Gee (attached from Waterford Artillery).

On January 20, 1900, the Nile anchored at St. Vincent, and on the fourth day after leaving it Major Maunsell died from pneumonia, and was buried at sea on the 25th inst.

On February 1, Cape Town was reached, and upon the same day that the battalion disembarked it entrained for Nauwport, where the militia units encamped and were brigaded under Colonel Wm. Cooke-Collis. The following extract gives a condensed history of the regiment during its stay in South Africa:—

Morning Order by Brigadier-General G. G. Cunningham, Commanding at Vereeniging:—

“Head Quarters, Vereeniging, June 12, 1901. 9th K.R.R. Corps leave this command on their departure for home, without placing on record the good work they have done. The first Irish Militia battalion to respond to the call to arms and volunteer for active service in South Africa, the 9th K.R.R. Corps landed at Capetown on 1st February, 1900, and at once proceeded to the front, joining the force in the Colesburg district, and being engaged in the action of February 14th, 1900. When the general advance took place the battalion was employed in guarding the railway, and at Railhead, in the beginning of May, were visited by F. M. Lord Roberts, when the Commander-in-Chief expressed his satisfaction with the battalion. From the month of June onwards the guarding of the railway from Vaal to Wolvenock fell to the lot of the 9th K.R.R. Corps—arduous and anxious work when the efforts of the Boers under De Wet to wreck the railway in the Orange River Colony during this period are remembered. A mounted infantry company was formed, which has rendered good service. The state in which the horses are being left behind reflect great credit on all concerned. The G.O.C. wishes Colonel Cooke-Collis and all ranks of the 9th K.R.R.C. a safe and prosperous journey home, and that the welcome there may be as warm as it is well deserved. By Order.”

On July 6th, 1901, the battalion embarked at Cape Town in the ss. *Pinemore*, and arrived in Queenstown on the 31st of the same month. At 12.30 the disembarkation was complete, and the battalion was drawn up in line and inspected by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, K.G., &c.,

who shortly afterwards personally presented the South Africa Queen's medals, with four bars, to the officers, N.C.O.'s and men, and in addressing the battalion referred at great length to their praiseworthy conduct, and to the excellent manner in which they had answered to the call to arms and had upheld the standard of the old North Cork Regiment. The Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Right Hon. Jas. Francis, Earl of Bandon, presented, on behalf of the citizens of Cork, an illuminated address, and after suitable replies by Colonel Wm. Cooke-Collis, the battalion entrained for Mallow, where the disembodiment took place on that evening,



No. 5.—OFFICER, 1908.

all leaving for their homes in a quiet and orderly manner. The last and final embodiment of this old and well-tried battalion was at Bere Island, Bantry Bay, in the summer months of 1906. On the 7th of July, the battalion having left Bere Island on the 5th, arrived at Mallow, where they were dismissed to their homes, little thinking that in a few months their regiment would have its name obliterated, the roll of the officers wiped out, and the faithful service and lifeblood so freely shed consigned to oblivion. Upon the 31st of March, 1908, this historic regiment, after a record of 105 years, was disbanded for what the Government were pleased to term "economic" reasons.

The Regimental and King's Colours of the regiment are preserved in the hall at Castle Cooke, Kilworth, having been given by Mr. William Moore Hodder, of Hoddersfield, to Colonel Wm. Cooke-Collis, C.M.G., D.L., the last colonel of the battalion.

For its services in South Africa the battalion was awarded the Queen's medal, with four clasps, namely, "Cape Colony," "Orange Free State," "Transvaal," and the date clasp of "1901."

Our Society is deeply indebted to J. C. Leask, Esq., of Dundrum, Co. Dublin, for the five original pen and ink sketches which he has so artistically and accurately drawn, the better to illustrate the changes of uniform that had taken place in the North Cork during the nineteenth century. These drawings are numbered from one to five.

No. 1 represents an Officer of the Battalion Company of the regiment, 1798, scarlet, bound deep yellow and silver lace.

No. 2. A Private. Uniform red, faced yellow, white lace, with a black worm or dotted line, 1798.



SILVER CROSS BELT PLATE, 1850.

No. 3. Officer of the Grenadier Company, circa 1814, shortly after the Peninsular campaign and Waterloo.

No. 4. Officer, N. C. Rifles, green faced black velvet, 1857, during the Russian War and India Mutiny.

No. 5. Officer of the 9th Batt. King's Royal Rifles, before disbandment, March 31st, 1908.

Prior to 1830 the uniform worn by the line regiments was closely followed by the militia, who were then not restricted to silver lace, and some of the militia were better turned out and more fully equipped than the regulars.

After 1830 the uniform of militia regiments was precisely similar to the line, but with silver lace (vide King's Regulations). After 1846 the Rifle Brigade uniform was followed, and after 1881 that of the King's Royal Rifles, when it became the 9th Battalion of that distinguished corps.

The silver cross belt plate here illustrated dates from 1850. It has within a laurel wreath, Imperially crowned, a Maltese Cross of eight points, with lions passant guardant in the angles, as in the Order of the Bath, with a circular riband inscribed "North Cork Riflemen," and in the centre a bugle horn.

[To follow p. 60, vol. xiv.]

A list of the officers commanding the 9th Batt. King's Royal Rifles on their disembodiment :—

Hon. Colonel—Sir R. U. P. FitzGerald, Bart.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding—William Stopford.

Majors—R. S. Brasier-Creagh, A. W. Clerke, D.S.O.

Captains—J. C. O. Aldworth, Hon. Major; H. E. Hobart, F. W. M. Fuge, Hon. Major; J. Creagh, Hon. Major; W. H. Nichols, R. C. Hill, A. E. Gallagher, D.S.O.; C. J. Mackenzie, K. Mackenzie; J. O. Brodie, W. M. H. Humphreys, Instructor of Musketry.

Lieutenants—Harold J. Barry, J. S. Hunt.

2nd Lieutenants—R. J. Purcell, W. A. Fleury, W. H. Lloyd, R. H. B. Humphreys, C. R. F. Lloyd.

Quarter Master—W. J. Wilkins, Hon. Lieutenant.



SILVER COMMUNION PLATE IN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
PRINCES STREET, CORK.

On the Silver Communion Plate in the Presbyterian Church, Princes Street, Cork.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Wm. Humble Johnson, I have been afforded the privilege of examining the hitherto unpublished plate of this church. It comprises three chalices, weighing respectively 12 ounces 8½ dwt., 12 ounces 8 dwt., and 11 oz. 12 dwt., two patens, and a covered flagon. The chalices are alike in size, form and character, two having the well-known maker's marks of William Clarke, silversmith, of Cork, and the third the Irish hall marks. The measurements are practically the same, viz., height 10 inches, depth of cup and diameter of mouth 4 inches, and of the circular foot 4½ inches. They are without decoration, the knops only having each a plain raised band around the centre. All have inscriptions. The earliest has engraved upon the cup—

“The gift of Hugh Polden in 1699. Enlarged by the Church.
June, 1731.”

This has the initials of William Clarke¹ in three separate stamps upon the lip of the cup. Here we find one chalice with the engraved date of 1731, and another with that of 1699, which was altered and enlarged in 1731, probably because the elders of the church desired to have the sacred vessels correspond in height and uniform one with the other. Most probably the 1699 chalice was of a smaller size, and was entrusted to Clarke for enlargement, and on its completion he used his own stamp as a guarantee that the silver was of the true assay and sterling quality. The pair of patens, which rest on three feet, are 7 inches in diameter, having gadroon and shell borders, with Irish hall marks, but without the date letters. They bear the following inscriptions and weigh 17 oz. 10 dwt. :—

“The gift of Sarah Trench to the Presbyterian meeting house, as a small testimony of her gratitude for permitting the service of Christ Church to be performed there, Sept., 1824.”²

This was possibly when portion of the tower of Christ Church was taken down by Mr. Pain, the architect. Windele gives 1720 as the date of the erection of the present church. A lofty tower was being built at the western end, but after carrying it to a height of 136 feet, a sinking of the

¹ His marks also occur on a flagon of Carrigaline Episcopal Church, Co. Cork, upon two patens on foot, dated 1719, at St. Peter's Church, Cork, and also on the Communion plate dated 1709 in Kilshanig Church, Co. Cork, and on a circular fluted fruit dish in the writer's collection.

² The patens although presented in 1824 are nearly 100 years older as they were made by

I W John Wilme who was Warden of the Dublin Goldsmith's Guild, anno. 1738-9.

foundation on the south side of the tower had taken place, which obliged the architect to take down 36 feet of it. In 1810, forty feet more had to be removed, leaving 60 feet still standing, but the leaning continuing to the extent of $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet on the height of sixty, the remainder of the tower was cleared away in 1828, after having been for years one of the wonders of the city.

The act of grace recorded on the patens of lending the Presbyterian place of worship to the congregation of Christ Church during its alterations is an example of brotherly love and charity that cannot be too highly commended.

The silver flagon weighs 36 oz. It completes the list of the Communion plate of this church, and has the Irish hall marks of 1815.

Gibson (*Hist. of Cork*, p. 316) gives 1717 as the date of the rebuilding of the Presbyterian Chapel in Prince's Street on Dunscomb's Marsh. Dive Downes (*Journal*, pp. 103-104) states that it was preceded in 1699 by a Presbyterian Chapel in St. Peter's Parish, in a lane near the wall, and describes it as a large room that would hold about 400 people.

For the rebuilding of that in Prince's Street the receipts³ and donors' disbursements are preserved by the trustees, with a long list of the donors' names, many of which are still represented in the city and county. The following items will illustrate the rate of wages and prices of building material in the commencement of the 18th Century:—

APRIL, 1715.

Paid Batt Dunevan, filling ye trenches, 13 days, at 6d. ...	£0	6	6
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ boat loads stones from Mr. Archdeacon's Quay, at			
9s. 6d.	2	12	3
Paid Boyd & Lennox for 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ barrells of lime, at 12d. ...	1	6	6
Paid duty and fees of lead	9	3	11
Freight of lead	4	0	0
Landing and weighing 16 tunn of lead	0	10	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Nath Wraxall, for cost of lead, £190 3s. 8d. ⁴ ...	206	6	11
Boatage of stones from the Broadrick	0	14	0
Nath Wraxall for paving stones, £6 2s. od. Engl., at			
6d. p.c.	6	9	2
John Dennis, for timber	231	0	0
Thos. Corker, for registering the lease in Dublin ...	0	1	9
John Morley, for 5 cwt. 0 qrs. 9 lbs. iron, at 16s ...	4	1	3
John Bowers, for grinding 2c. lead, at	0	11	0
Filling the ground, 6 boats, at 4s.	1	4	0
Thos. Brown, for 1c. white lead paint	1	14	0
Paid Richd. Deeble, for a charge of a clock, ye other			
being by H. Goddard, junr.	5	5	0

³ The subscriptions acknowledged by Wm. Boyle for building a new church in Dunscombe's Marsh amounted to £1,343 8s. 3d.

⁴ The differing values of the lead shows the difference between the Irish and English currency.

Silver Hall Marked Medal of the Irish Brigade, 1798-9.

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A.



HIS medal is of engraved silver, with London Hall Marks, 1798-9, oval, and measures two inches in length.

Obverse—The harp, crowned, and "G.R." within a wreath of laurel.

Reverse—"Irish Brigade. Colonel Commandant, C. W. De Serrant. A mark of merit presented to Quarter-Mr. T. Somerfield, for long and faithful service as a

soldier."

The medal has a flat tapering hall-marked loop, through which a silver chain, five inches long, passes, and secures the medal to the tunic. This historic medal is intimately associated with the Irish Brigade, who, as the very flower of the Irish race, had so long and so bravely fought under the French Standard.

The three regiments of Dillon, Berwick and Walsh, which had been formed in 1689 out of the Jacobite refugees, and replenished by the many



Irish Catholics who fled from Ireland during the penal laws, continued to the very eve of the Revolution. No regiment in the French Army had for a hundred years a higher record of honourable service. They were Irish or of Irish origin, and to a large extent representatives of distinguished Catholic families. Lecky says:—"There was a time when such men would have borne a foremost part in a French expedition for emancipating Ireland from English rule. But the same desperate fidelity with which their fathers had sacrificed home and country and fortune for their faith and for their King still continued, and the children of the exiles of 1689 were now themselves enduring for the same cause proscription, confiscation and exile." With few exceptions they ranged themselves against the Revolution and for the Monarchy, but in September, 1794, the Duke of

Portland invited the Duke of FitzJames into the English service with the regiment of the Marshall de Berwick and the Irish Brigade, on the same footing as it had been in the service of his Christian Majesty, Louis XVI., and he stated that it was the intention of the King to add a fourth Regiment to the Irish Brigade, and to place it under the command of Colonel O'Connell, one of the most distinguished officers in the old French Army. Daniel O'Connell, of Derrynane, was his nephew. See his Life published by Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell.¹

The Irish Brigade was disbanded in 1798. One of its old regiments was commanded by Colonel Charles Walsh, Viscount De Serrant,² the giver of the medal to his Quarter Master, Mr. Somerfield, whose name appears in the Army List of 1805 as Captain T. Somerfield, 83rd Regiment.

This Medal has recently been acquired by the writer.

¹ London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1892.

² Army List.

Discovery of a "Bullan" in the Townland of Ballinamona, near Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.

By CANON COURTENAY MOORE, M.A., F.R.S.A., Hon. Prov.
Sec. for Munster R.S.A.I.



ON the 8th of October last my attention was called to a stone lying in the yard of a farmer named John Kent. Though I know little or nothing of prehistoric archæology, I feel assured the stone in question is a "Bullan." It is cut out of a solid block of a sort of grey-red sandstone, which abounds in the district. The block is six inches high, and the diameter of the surface from the extremity of each handle to the other is fourteen inches. There are two lips to it, and the diameter in the case of these is thirteen inches. The diameter of the hollow surface is eight inches on the top and seven at the bottom; and the depth of this cup is three inches. The late eminent Irish antiquary, W. F. Wakeman, mentions that the average diameter of these Bullans is fourteen inches. So this is therefore an average specimen. It was ploughed up twenty-five years ago by John Kent, and has been lying in his yard ever since. It is in very good preservation. As I believe Bullans were used as baptismal fonts in the vicinity of holy wells in old times, I mentioned this, and the farmer explained that there was and still is on the boundary of his land a holy well called the Well of St. Paul. Though for a long time resident in the parish, I had never even heard of this "well" before. There is a celebrated Holy Well dedicated to St. Findchu, the local patron saint, commonly known as St. Fanachan; but of "St. Paul's Well" I had never before heard. Wishing to investigate the matter, I got John Kent's son to take me across the fields to see it; and there it was, a beautiful spring well. So I have discovered



ORIGINAL DRAWINGS FOR THE CAMPANILE,
ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, CORK.



ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, CORK.

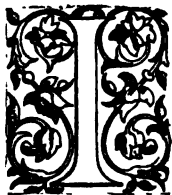
both a "Bullan" and a Holy Well on the same occasion. I don't think St. Paul is a favourite or well-known saint in Ireland, except for his anniversary on June 29th, SS. Peter and Paul's Day.

St. Findchu flourished in Brigown, near Mitchelstown, in the sixth century; his life is in the "Book of Lismore," and probably this Bullaun was used as a baptismal font in his time. It may have done duty as a cinerary urn even prior to that, who knows? However, I am not a pre-historic archæologist, and only give my opinion. The reader is referred to page 50 of Wakeman's *Archæologia Hibernica: A Handbook of Irish Antiquities, Pagan and Christian*. Bullans are generally found, not as separate hollowed stones, as in the above instance, but as cuttings in undisturbed rock, or sunk in boulders and sometimes in the shelves or sides of natural caves.

So far as I am informed, St. Paul's Well had never anything more than a parochial reputation, and even this has apparently died out. But the repute of St. Findchu's Well is more or less provincial, as it attracts pilgrims from Tipperary and Limerick, as well as from Cork. I believe these Bullans have been sometimes called mortars, but the lips in this specimen apparently imply it was used to contain liquid. There are other arguments against the mortar theory.

St. Patrick's Church, Glanmire Road.

By ARTHUR HILL, M.R.I.A., B.E., F.R.I.B.A.



It is not often that a peep can be had into an architect's *atelier*, and the evolution of a design traced from one stage to another. Through the courtesy of Mr. B. J. Pain, who has lent for reproduction in this *Journal* some of his uncle's original drawings for the Campanile of St. Patrick's Church, Glanmire Road, the successive steps that led to this exceedingly graceful terminal have been made available, and no doubt will prove interesting to the members of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society.

The first idea appears to have been a circular treatment, with twelve columns round a central core, which is carried up as a lantern and covered with a small dome.

This idea was superseded by a rectangular figure in plan, with a projecting feature at each corner, consisting of two columns backed with pilasters and placed diagonally. The success of this treatment is at once evident. Instead of the repose given by the gradual rounding of the circular form, the sharp lights and shadows give interest and emphasis to what is really a small object in itself. The treatment of the upper part is also a considerable advance on the comparative simplicity of the dome and lantern.

In the final stage, as carried out, the angle treatment was abandoned and the columns and entablature were placed on the four cardinal faces, the upper part with the zone of figures being somewhat reduced in height. It is exceedingly difficult to give a decided preference between them, for No. 2 design has very great merit in its smartness and variety of line.

But perhaps, on the whole, Pain was right, as the salient lines of the cornice of the campanile running diagonally to the main cornices of the building would not have been as reposeful as the executed design, where all lines, being parallel, trend to the same vanishing points.

A decided advantage, however, lies with No. 2 in the extra height given by the fluted pedestal under the figures, for though these figures can be well seen from the Middle road, they are somewhat obscured from the lower level.

George Pain, the architect of this church, was a London man. He and his brother, James, came to Ireland at the suggestion of John Nash, a well-known architect practising in the early part of the last century, who was building some large country houses at the time. George settled in Cork, and died at the early age of 45. James afterwards moved to Limerick, where he lived to the ripe age of 98. If there is any value in heredity, the brothers Pain had the benefit of two generations of architects. William, the grandfather, published several works, and called himself "Architect and Carpenter." His son, James, followed in his footsteps, and appears as "Builder and Surveyor." George Pain was an exceedingly good draughtsman, and well versed in the art of classic design, and indeed also in Gothic work as it was understood in those days. He was also an accomplished water-colour artist, and had he devoted himself to that art, he might well have become famous. We are indebted to his talent, for some of the best buildings in Cork, for besides St. Patrick's Church, he designed Blackrock Castle, the Court House, the interior of St. Mary's Cathedral and Christ Church, Holy Trinity, Charlotte Quay; the Independent Chapel, the County Club, the County Jail, and many other well known buildings.

Bishop Dive Downes' Visitation of his Diocese, 1699.

EDITED WITH NOTES BY T. A. LUNHAM.

INTRODUCTION.



ONE of the earliest proceedings of Bishop Dive Downes on his appointment to the Sees of Cork and Ross in 1699, seems to have been a Visitation of his Diocese, the record of which, in the form of a Journal of his Tour, was deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, together with some other important documents relating to the state of the Diocese, by the late Dr. Kyle, sometime Archdeacon of Cork and Vicar-General. These interesting papers were printed in 1864 by the Rev. W. Maziere Brady, D.D., in his valuable *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, now long out of print, and scarce.

The greater part, if not the entire, of the *Tour* is, unfortunately, dis-



PORTRAIT BISHOP DIVE DOWNES (1699).

In the Episcopal Palace, Cork.

(From a Photo by Dr. P. G. Lee, 1908.)

tributed throughout the work in detached portions under the various parishes, an arrangement which, however desirable in some respects, unavoidably interferes with the continuity of the narrative, and detracts from the interest attaching to its perusal.

The original manuscript of the Tour has been carefully copied for the present publication, and it now for the first time appears as a complete and consecutive account of the Bishop's Acts in his Visitation.

Dive Downes was descended from an ancient Suffolk family, whose branches spread subsequently into Norfolk and Northamptonshire. He was the grandson of Dive Downes, of East Haddon, and son of the Rev. Lewis Downes, Rector of Thornby, in Northamptonshire, where he was born Oct. 16, 1653, and was educated under Mr. Haslam, or Haslome. He matriculated in the University of Dublin, June, 1669, being then about 16 years of age. His tutor was Thomas Sheridan. He graduated *Vern.* 1671, commenced M.A. *Aest.* 1675, and proceeded B.D. *Vern.* 1686, and D.D. *Vern.* 1692. He was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1675. (*Catalogue of Graduates*, T.C.D.) On the 24th of Feb., 1677-8, Downes was ordained deacon by Henry, Bp. of Meath, at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and admitted to Priest's Orders, May 5, 1678. (Consistorial Court and Cotton, *Fasti*.) From 1683 to 1690 he was Prebendary of Wicklow in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; from June 25, 1687 to July, 1688, Sequestrator of Castlemacadam and Dunnkey, Dublin; from 1690 to 1699, Archdeacon of Dublin. He was attainted by the Parliament of King James II. in 1689. By letters patent, dated April 18, 1699, he was elevated to the Sees of Cork and Ross, and consecrated by his Metropolitan, William Palliser, Archbishop of Cashel, assisted by Nathaniel, Bishop of Waterford, and Thomas, Bishop of Limerick, in the Parish Church of St. John Baptist at Cashel, June 4, 1699, and enthroned at Cork on the 7th and at Ross on the 20th of the same month. He died in Dublin, Nov. 13, 1709, and was buried at St. Andrew's in that city. (Brady, *Records*, iii., p. 6; Cotton, *Fasti*, i., p. 230, &c.) William King, Bishop of Derry, afterwards the celebrated Archbishop of Dublin, writing to the Abp. of Canterbury, thus refers to Downes:—"I hear that Dr. Downes and Dr. Harrison are named for the bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh; they are good men both; more particularly Dr. Downes is not only considerable for his gravity and prudence, but likewise for his learning, both in divinity, ecclesiastical laws, and other sciences. Perhaps it may be thought convenient to divide them; and if both may be gratified, Kilmore is much the better, &c." No division, however, took place of the vacant bishopricks, which were conferred on Bp. Wetenhall, translated from Cork and Ross, in which See he was succeeded by Dive Downes, so well recommended in the foregoing extract. (Bp. Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 102-3.)

Dive Downes was married four times, his last wife being Catherine FitzGerald, sister of the Earl of Kildare (Aug. 19, 1707). By her he had issue a son, Robert, and a posthumous daughter, Anne, born the day of her father's death, Nov. 13, 1709. By his first wife he had one daughter, who predeceased him, and by his third, who was widow of Capt. H. Townsend, a daughter named Elizabeth,

Wednesday, Aug. 9, 1699. I went from Corke to Ballimony.

As you go from Corke towards Bandon, within two miles of Bandon stands the little church of Brinny in repair.

A mile beyond Brinny Church begins the parish of Kilbrogan,¹ belonging to Bandon, lyes on the north of the river Bandon till you come to the parish of Murragh. Over against Kilbrogan parish, on the other side of the river, is the parish of Kilmodan. Murragh lyes higher up the river Bandon, a church near the river at the south-west corner of the parish. About 80 persons at church on Sundays. The walls and roof of the church in pretty good repair; a pulpit and Communion table, no seats but one, not flag'd; the church yard inclosed. About 30 acres of glebe near the church, good land.

Over against Murragh, on the south side of the river Bandon, lyes the parish of Desert. The church is about half an English mile from the church of Murragh. The church walls and roof in pretty good repair; a pulpit and several seats; a Communion table; a good church yard, but not inclosed.

About 60 acres of glebe joyning to the church yard. Half the glebe claimed by the vicars chorals. Mr. Lord pays them £30 p. an. for it. About 80 persons at church on Sundays. 'Tis supposed the Earl of Corke has in his possession several acres belonging to the glebe. Mr. Synge, the Curate, lives at a pretty good house within a quarter of a mile of the church of Desert.

Garrivoe, a Rectory in Desert parish, being half the tythes of 14 plowlands, is a sinecure in the gift, as 'tis said, of the Lord of Kinsale.

Killowen, a Rectory sinecure in Murragh parish.

About 5 miles to the west of Bandon, on the north side of the river, adjoining to the parish of Murragh, begins the parish of Kinneigh. Near the river is Inniskean, a little market town in the parish of Kinneigh. The parish church of Kinneigh stands three miles from Inniskean to the north-west. Inniskean, the Earle of Cork's estate.

About 7 miles to the west of Bandon, on the south side of the river,

¹ Kilbrogan. The ancient name of this parish was Bruchoyne, Bruchane, or Brochane. It was a fief of the See of Cloyne, and in the fourteenth century was held under the bishop of that diocese by the Barrys. At an Inquisition held at Clenor on Monday, the Feast of St. Andrew, 50, Ed. iii., 1377, before the Seneschal of the Bp. of Cloyne, Nicholas Barry acknowledged that he held of the said Bp. the Manor of Kilbrogan, with all its appurtenances, woods, &c., and by the service of 16s. 4d. per an., at the usual terms, binding himself to obedience &c. Jan. 10, 1481, William, Bp. of Cloyne, visited this church, and demanded a return of the Manor from Sir James Barry, lord of Brochane. The modern name of the parish is derived from Kiel Brochane, the church, or cell, of Brochane. The church appears to have been "Sub invocatione Sancti Brociani." This Brocan, or Braghane, was the reputed nephew and secretary of St. Patrick, and rendered famous by a prophecy of his, referred to by Finglas, "Breviate of Ireland," in Harris' "Hibernica," pt. i., p. 88. "The four Saints, that is to say, St. Patrick, St. Colombe, St. Braghane, and St. Moling, which many hundred years ago made prophecy that Englishmen should have conquered Ireland," &c. In the "Annals of the Four Masters" (ad an. 448), a list is given of the family and followers of St. Patrick, among whom Brogan is mentioned as the Scribe. See also the "Felire" of Oengus, edited for the Henry Bradshaw Soc. by Dr. Whitley Stokes, p. 169. Christ Church, Kilbrogan, was built in 1610, on the site of an ancient rath. Considerable structural additions were made to the fabric in 1625. Mr. Bennett informs us that this "was the first edifice ever raised in Ireland for Protestant worship," i.e., for that purpose exclusively. ("History of Bandon," p. 26, 1869.) The church was again enlarged in 1829. In the list of St. Patrick's household printed in the "Tripartite Life," vol. i., p. 265, the name of Brocan does not occur.

is the parish of Ballimoney, except one plowland of this parish, which is on the north of the river. The church is large, walls and roof in pretty good repair, seats in the east end, but not in the west. The west end was repaired when Kineigh and Fanlobish were united to it. Contention about a seat gave occasion to the building Kineigh and Fanlobish Churches and dividing the parishes.

Usually 80 persons at church. Mr. Synge preaches one Sunday at Murragh, the other Sunday at Desert.

About 26 plantation acres of glebe round the church of Ballimoney, divided into 5 fields. A little Vicarage house, in good repair, with the glebe well improved, a good garden and orchard.

A plowland on the north of the river Bandon is in this parish.

Drinagh and Kilmore united *pro hac vice* to Ballimoney. The Vicars Choral have half the tythes of Drinagh.

Kilmine lyes to the south-west of Ballimoney. Drinagh lyes to the west of Kilmine. Mr. Symmes preaches one Sunday at Ballimoney, the other at Kilmine.

Kineigh. 32 plowlands in this parish; half the tythes of 14 plowlands belong to the Chantor, half the other 16 to the Vicars Choral. 16 acres of glebe at Kilmine and 10 at Drinagh, both near the churches. Kinneigh Church out of repair. Divine Service once a fortnight at Inniskean by Mr. Patrickson.

Thursday, Aug. 10, '99. I went from Ballimoney to Bantry. I lay at Capt. Parker's house.

Fanlobish Church, about 3 miles beyond Ballimoney Church to the west. The country thereabouts is coarse and rocky. The church covered, but many slates off. No pulpit nor seats. About half the church is ruinous. The church yard well inclosed. About 14 English acres of glebe round the church. On the south of the church 6 plowlands belonging to the See of Corke, 5 of them on the north of the river Bandon, the 6th on the other side of the river called Mareagh. The tenants to the Bishop are Sr. Richd. Cox and Mrs. Morcan.

The 5 plowlands contain about 500 English acres. They are set by Sr. Richd. Cox² to an Englishman for £50 per an. The 6th plowland is set, worth about £10 p. an. These six plowlands are the best land thereabouts.

Six plowlands belong to the Archbishop of Dublin. They pay a chiefry

² Sir Richard Cox was born at Bandon in 1650, and filled various important offices in Ireland, having been successively Recorder of Kinsale, of Waterford, and in 1690 Justice of the Common Pleas; he was knighted in the same year, and in 1701 appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in 1703 Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and soon after sworn one of the Lords Justices. In 1706 Queen Anne created him a baronet, "as a mark of her Majesty's favour, and in consideration of his good services." Harris says ("Writers," p. 223):—He was a great encourager of local industries, awarding premiums to the deserving operatives. In 1701 he became Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, which office he retained until the death of the Queen. He wrote "Hibernia Anglicana," a History of Ireland, 2 vols. folio, 1689-90, and, in his later years, some minor works of a controversial nature. His valuable MSS. are preserved in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, and comprise, inter alia, a "Description of the City and County of Cork," circ. 1685, which has been edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by the present writer for the "Journal" of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1902 (vol. xxxii. pp. 353-376). His interesting Autobiography was edited by the late Dr. Caulfield in 1860. It appears to have been commenced about the year 1701, and extends to 1707. He died May 3, 1733, at the age of 83.

to the See of Corke. They do suit and service to the mannor of Rosse. These are rocky lands.

Earl of Corke has two plowlands contiguous to the rest. He pays a chiefry to the See of Corke, but these two plowlands are reckoned in the Earl of Corke's mannor of Iniskean. The parishioners are generally desirous to have the church at Dunmanway. If this church be not built, the church of Fanlobish ought to be repaired forthwith.

Dunmanway lyes near the center of the parish; near 30 English familys in the town. Divine Service 3 Sundays in the month in a house in Dunmanway. Subscribed £100 by Sr. Rich. Cox and £100 by Mr. Patrickson towards building a church or chapel of ease at Dunmanway, besides other subscriptions.

On the north of Fanlobish lyes Kilmichael and Inchygeelah, in a coarse country. The people are all Irish, except one or two familys. No church nor Divine Service. At a mile distance to the west of Dunmanway stands a chapel of ease, ruinous, called Kilbarry chappel.

Drimoleague lyes about 6 miles to the south-west of Dunmanway; belongs to Mr. Hignet; very coarse country. Mr. Patrickson preaches there once a month, and Mr. Hungerford once a month.

All the country from Dunmanway to Bantry is very coarse mountain, especially on the right hand.

Caharagh lyes to the south of Drummalegue, belongs Mr. Patrickson. No church nor Divine Service, but at Drummalegue.

We pass through part of Caharagh as we go from Drummalegue. Kilmacomoge joyns to Caharagh about 2 miles before we come to Bantry.

Kilmacomogue lyes westward of Caharagh. The church stood three miles to the north-east of Bantry; 'tis ruinous. There is a cabbin built on purpose for a chappel in Bantry.

Seventy-five plowlands and 8 gnives in the parish of Kilmacomoge. About 150 persons usually at church in Bantry. 3 Sundays in 4 Mr. Holmes preaches in Bantry, the 4th Sunday he preaches in Capt. Evanson's house at 4 mile water, in the parish of Durrou.

Kilmacomogue, being 3 plowlands, belongs to the See of Corke, set for £12, well set, and Innishbeg clary, an island, set for £14 p. an. 'Tis worth about £35 p. an. The three plowlands of Kilmacomogue is better than the land about it, but 'tis small measure.

The Rectory of Kilmacomogue belongs to St. Catherine's Abbey,³ of Waterford.

Kilcroghan lyes to the south-west of Bantry, about 5 miles the nearest part is distant from Bantry, about 12 miles the furthest part. No church nor Protestants. Kilcroghan 3 plowlands belongs to the See of Corke, worth at least £20 per an.; is set to Sr. Richard Hull for £5 p. an. The land is better than the other lands in that parish, indifferent measure.

The Rectory of Kilcroghan belongs to St. Catherine's, Waterford, except the Rectory of the three plowlands of Kilcroghan, which belongs

³ The Priory of St. Catherine, Waterford, was founded by the Ostmen for Augustinian Canons of the Congregation of St. Victor, but the date is not known. This house was taken under his especial protection by Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216), who confirmed all its possessions, the site of the priory, a number of churches, ecclesiastical emoluments, fisheries, lands, &c. It was granted together with all its property and other lands, to Elizabeth Butler, als. Sherlock. 31st Elizabeth (1589).

(torn). Anno 1699. Most part of the parish of Kilcroghan is the joynture of Mrs. Peyton. The estate belongs to the Hulls for the most part.

The greatest part of the barony of Bere and Bantry is the estate of the Earl of Anglesey.

Mr. Davys has an estate about Bantry and Whiddy Island worth about £500 p. an., out of which he pays a chiefry to the Earl of Anglesey of £100 p. an., and quit rent £150 p. an.

The Parish of Durrous lyes close to the town of Bantry to the south, and Kilcroghan to the south of Durrous. They both lye betwixt Bantry Bay and Dunmanus Bay. There was a chappel of ease in the parish of Durrous, near Bantry, before the year 1641. Bantry Bay runs about 20 miles up into the land. Bantry town stands within 3 miles of the highest part of the bay. Meintervarick, in the parish of Kilcroghan, is the lowest point on the east side of the mouth of the bay, and Great Island opposite to it on the west. The bay runs from the sea to the north-east. Barracks for one company of foot are abuilding at Bantry.

Durrous and Kilcroghan are united *pro hac vice* to Kilmacomogue. Some Protestants in Durrous. 3 Sundays in 4 Mr. Holmes preaches at Bantry, the 4th Sunday he preaches at 4 mile water for the parish of Kilcroghan and the adjacent parts of Durrous. No Divine Service in any place westward of Bantry within less than 12 miles in Kerry, at Glanerought. The ruins of an Abbey⁴ within quarter of a mile of Bantry. 2 little schools kept in Bantry.

Thirty-one plowlands in the parish of Durrous. The Earl of Corke has the moiety of the tythes of 12 plowlands. The Vicar has the remainder of all the tythes. The Vicar's share is about £30 p. an.

Thirty small plowlands in Kilcroghan parish. The Rectory belongs to the Abbey of St. Catherine's, Waterford, the estate of Sr. Ellis Layton. The lease of this from the King expired in the Earl of Essex's time. It was then renewed by Sr. Ellis Layton. Only the Rectory of the 3 plowlands of Kilcroghan belongs to the Earl of Corke. The Vicarage worth about £16 p. an.

Bantry Bay runs from the sea to the north-east above 20 miles into the land. It branches itself into little creeks. On one of them stands Bantry or old town; on another Newtown; on another Ballylicky; on another the Snaive. The bay is generally about a league broad. About a mile below Bantry four or five little islands, as Horse Island, Hog Island, Long Island, &c.

Whiddy Island is about 2 miles from Bantry, very good land. About 1,000 English acres set for about £80 p. an. by Mr. Davys to Mr. Bemish. Frost seldom continues nor snow in this island. The biggest ships may come on the west of Whiddy with safety.

Berehaven side of the bay is course, rocky mountain, hardly passable. There the cane apples or arbutus grow on the sides of the most steep and rocky mountains. A river runs down a steep side of the hill. Springs generally on the tops of the hills, and bogs on the tops of the rocky mountains. Pilchers taken generally in the bay heretofore; few of late.

⁴ Dermot O'Sullivan Beare founded a monastery for Conventual Franciscans in 1460. It is described as "small and beautiful" by Archdall. O'Sullivan died in 1466. The site of the monastery is still called Ardnabrahra, or Friars' hill, although no vestige of the building remains. Its burial ground is said to be still used.

Beds of escalops about the Horse Island; they are large. The whole charge on the barony of Beare and Bantry for the half-year's land tax, £88 19s. 11d.; charge on the tythe, £8 19s. 11d.; charge on the barony, deducting the tythe, £80 os. od.; each plowland pays half-yearly 8s. 2d.

				Pl'lands.	Gnives.
Kilmacamogue	...	...	...	75	8
Durrus	...	...	...	11	2
Kilcaskane	...	...	...	10	6
Killaghaninagh	...	...	...	74	3
Killmannah	...	...	...	9	9
Kilkatiern	...	...	...	14	3

In the parish of Kilmacamogue the Irish observe Macamogue's⁵ day as a Festivall, and generally each parish observes a patron day. And in the whole Diocess of Corke generally the Irish observe St. Finbarry's day as a Festivall. In the whole Diocess of Rosse the Irish observe St. Faughnan's day as a Festivall. The parish of Kilmacamogue is worth about £30 p. an. to Mr. Holmes.

The Bay of Bantry is a good harbour. Ships of great burthen of a thousand tons may come within Whiddy Island; no shallows nor hidden rocks in the bay. The French men-o-war,⁶ being about 20, came into the bay in 1689. The ships laden with ammunition, &c., came up to the kay. The English and French men-of-war engaged betwixt Great Island and Mointervary.

Kilcaskane parish lyes next to Kilmacamogue to the west; about 10½ plowlands, all mountain land. Four and a half plowlands of this parish are in the county of Kerry. Three of these plowlands are called Bonane, or Drumpfenghnagh, which belongs to the Bishop of Rosse, but is now contested by Mr. Petty. There was a chappel formerly near Drumpfengh-

⁵ Macamogue, or Mochomoc, is by some identified with Colman. It is also written "Mocholmoc," my Colman, and Colmoc. Dr. Stokes refers to Colman of Cluain Bruchais. ("Felire" of Oengus the Culdee, p. 169, and Index.) The family of Colman appears to have been numerous. "In the Martyrology of Donegal (or Calendar of the Saints of Ireland), p. 317, there are 112 of the name enrolled." (Caulfield, "Annals of Cloyne," p. 3.)

⁶ Early in the month of April, 1689, Admiral Herbert sailed with his squadron for Cork. Having there learned that King James had landed at Kinsale, he took measures to intercept the convoy which had attended the King from France. On the 29th he sighted the fleet, apparently endeavouring to enter Kinsale Harbour. On the evening of the following day he saw them standing into Bantry Bay. He lay off and on until morning, and about daybreak determined to attack the enemy. The French, on perceiving the English fleet, despatched the merchant vessels, which with some fireships accompanied them, laden with saddles, bridles, and arms, as well as a considerable sum of money, to a place of safety, and prepared to engage the British squadron. The latter is said to have consisted of about 22 vessels. Campbell says:—12 ships of war, 1 fire-ship, 2 yachts, and 2 smacks ("Naval History of Great Britain," vol. 2, p. 402). According to the Admiral's own report, however, there were "8 third rates, 10 fourth rates, one 5th rate, and two tenders." (Campbell, vol. 3, p. 122). The British loss amounted to 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, and 94 men killed, and about 300 wounded. Admiral Herbert received the thanks of Parliament, and was subsequently created a Peer by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay and Earl of Torrington. Both sides, as usual in such cases, claimed the victory. "The English" (says Dalrymple) "accounted it a defeat not to have been victorious on their own element; and the French termed it a victory, because they were not defeated." The latter, however, succeeded in their object, and returned home unmolested." The French Ambassador, congratulating James on this success, received for reply:—"C'est bien la premiere fois donc." (Dalrymple, "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 59.)

nagh. A great wood formerly on Dromfenghnagh of great value was destroy'd by Sr. W. Petty's iron works.⁷

Kilcaskane is in the $\frac{1}{2}$ barony of Bere and Diocese of Rosse, Kilcaskane town being $4\frac{1}{2}$ plowlands, and 20 more plowlands in Bere belonged to the See of Rosse, was enjoyed by Bishop Michael Boyle,⁸ was recovered by the Earl of Anglesey from Bishop Synge.⁹ Mr. John Davies tenant on my Ld. Anglesey for Kilcaskane.

In the parish of Durrouss the 6 plowlands of Aghagshine and Letterlicky belonged formerly to the See of Corke, enjoy'd by Bp. Michael Boyle, and recovered from Bp. Synge by Walter Galway, of Youghall, on the

⁷ Sir Wm. Petty, founder of the Lansdowne family, was the son of Anthony Petty, clothier, of Romney, Hampshire, where he was born in 1623. The great proficiency he made in his studies while very young, and the fact that he had been at Oxford, "preferred him," he informs us in his curious will prefixed to his "Tracts," "to the King's Navy." In 1643, "when the Civil War grew hot," he proceeded to the Continent, where he studied medicine for the next three years. Returning to England, he, in due course, obtained the degree of M.D. at Oxford, subsequently becoming a Fellow of Brasenose, and Professor of Anatomy, and Reader at Gresham College. Having accumulated some £500, he set out for Ireland, and "upon the 10th Sept., 1652, landed at Waterford, physician to the Army, and to the General of the same, and the Headquarters, at the rate of 20s. per diem." ("Tracts Chiefly Relating to Ireland," p. 4. Dublin, 1769.) Perceiving that the "admeasurement" of the lands forfeited in the rebellion of 1641 was not satisfactory, he "obtained a contract for making the same admeasurement, and by God's blessing so perfected the same as that he gained about £9,000." Ibid. This was the famous "Down Survey," an account of which he left in MS., which has been ably edited, with valuable notes, by Sir Thomas A. Larcom, R.E., for the Irish Archaeological Society, 1851. It is entitled, "History of the Cromwellian Survey of Ireland, A.D. 1655-6, commonly called the Down Survey." Petty himself published various treatises and papers on Ireland, chiefly on economical subjects, including "The Political Anatomy of Ireland," 1672, and "Essays in Political Arithmetic." Petty established several important industries, especially in Kerry, amongst others, pilchard fisheries, iron works, lead mines, and trading in timber. By these and the judicious purchase of land, he acquired a large fortune, his income amounting at the date of his will, 1685, to some £15,000 per an., "abating for bad debts £28,000." He married in 1667 Elizabeth, widow of Sir Maurice Fenton, Bart., and daughter of Sir Hardresse Waller, of Castle-town, Co. Limerick, who was one of the judges at the trial of Charles I., for which he was tried and banished. His name appears among the signatures appended to the King's death warrant. Petty sat, as member for West Looe, in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, which met in January, 1659, and was dissolved in April of the same year. He was one of the first members of the Royal Society, to which he presented the model of a double-bottomed ship, to sail against wind and tide—his own invention. He died at his house in Piccadilly Street, Westminster, Dec. 16, 1687, and was buried at Romney.

⁸ Michael Boyle, D.D., Dean of Cloyne, and son of the Abp. of Tuam, was advanced to these Sees by Letters Patent of King Charles II. in 1660. He was one of the twelve prelates consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Jan. 27th of that year. The ceremony, which was of an imposing character, is described in Mason's "Historical Annals of St. Patrick's," p. 192, &c., and in Mant's "Hist. of the Church of Ireland," vol. i., p. 609, &c. He was translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin in 1663, and to that of Armagh in 1678, and died in Dublin in 1702, ætat 93. He had been a pluralist, but was compelled by his relative the Earl of Orrery to provide incumbents for the vacant livings in his possession, which he accordingly did.

⁹ Anthony Wood (Athenæ Oxonienses) says that Millington was the original name of this prelate. "Synge alias Millington, I find, was the name of the family, but that it was some time changed into Synge, on account of a sweetness of voice and skill in vocal music which some of the Millingtons were possessed of. He took a leading part in the remonstrance of the Irish clergy against the Puritan proposal to substitute the Presbyterian "Directory of Public Worship" for the Book of Common Prayer. He subsequently became Dean of Elphin, and was one of the twelve bishops consecrated at St. Patrick's, Jan. 27, 1661. Two years later he was translated from Limerick to Cork. He died Dec. 22, 1678.

King's title, as being conceal'd and paying quit rent. Bp. Wetenhall sued for these and was cast. He afterwards purchast the lands.

Castle Mehiga and other lands near Skull were recovered from Bishop Synge by the same Walter Galway upon the same account. Sr. Rich. Hull was the Bp.'s tenant for these lands, but assisted Galway, tho' his servant swore that it pay'd no quit rent before the year 1641.

The Archdeacon of Rosse is Rector of Kilcaskane. The Rectory is worth about £8 os. od. p. an. The Archdeaconry of Rosse consists of severall Rectorys, worth in all about £40 os. od. p. an.

No church in repair in Kilcaskane. No Protestants in the whole parish. Mr. Holmes is Vicar.

Next to Kilcaskane to the west lyes the parish of Killaghaninah, 78 plowlands. No church in repair. Capt. Boid, a Presbyterian, and Theophilus Hutchins and 3 families more live in this parish. Mr. Holmes is Vicar of this parish. He goes about once a quarter to perform Divine Service at Mr. Hutchins' house in Berehaven. Countess of Castlehaven has the Rectory. The Vicarage worth about £20 os. od. p. an.

Dorses Island is in this parish. There was heretofore a chappel of ease in this island, and another in Great Island in the same parish.

Kilmanna lyes to the south-west of Killaghaninah, 9 plowlands. No church nor Protestants. Mr. Holmes Rector of this entire Rectory, worth about £3 10s. od. p. an. In this parish some good lands.

Kilkateerin lyes to the north-west of Killaghaninah, 10½ plowlands. No church in repair, nor Protestants. Mr. Holmes has the entire Rectory, worth about £5 p. an. From one extreme part of Mr. Holmes's parish to the other extreme is about 36 miles. The Vicar has half of the whole tythes.

(To be continued).

A History of the O'Mahony Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha.

(Continued from page 21.)

BY REV. CANON O'MAHONY, GLENNVILLE, CROOKSTOWN.

Donogh, son of Cian the third of that name, succeeded to the chieftainship on the death of his uncle, who fell in the victorious attack made on the English garrison of Waterford by the Irish of South Munster²⁴ at the close of the year 1170. It was the custom of clansmen to attach to the name of the Chief a *leapainm*, or sobriquet, suggested by some personal peculiarity or circumstance connected with his place of birth or fosterage. Donogh's only salient peculiarity was a habit of going the round of his forts and living for some time in each, instead of residing permanently or principally at Rath Rathleann. Hence the appellation of Donchadh, "Na

²⁴ "Annals of Innisfallen" (Dublin copy), under the year 1170.

Himerce (Himerke) 'Timchill,' or, more briefly, "Na Himerce,"²⁵ Donogh "of the changes of residence," as he is generally called in the Annals and Genealogies. As may be seen by referring back to Genealogical Tables Nos. I. and II., he is the stem to which the genealogists trace not only the two principal septs of the name (those of Kinelmeke and Ivagha), but all the minor septs or families. He held a memorable position also in the tribal history as having been the last chieftain who succeeded to the entire territory²⁶ of his ancestors. That territory was of a straggling, inconvenient conformation, most difficult to defend at a time when sudden incursions were the rule rather than the exception in Irish warfare, and when a standing force was not usually maintained. Before the "hosts from Carn Ui Neid" could arrive or even be summoned from the west, a muster of clansmen in the eastern parts might be hopelessly outnumbered and cut to pieces by an invader. Under this disadvantage, an almost perpetual struggle had to be kept up against the encroachments of the English invaders and of Irish neighbours on the integrity of the tribeland during the chieftainship of Donogh na Himerce.

Dermod MacCarthy, King of Desmond, called by the English, King of Cork, was the first Irish prince to do homage to Henry when he came in person. It is very probable that his motive was to secure, by means of an apparently powerful and trustworthy suzerain, his own precarious position, which (as was shown in the foregoing pages) was derived from the support of the King of Connacht, and not from the consent or through the conquest of the other chiefs of Cork and Kerry. Neither he²⁷ nor any of the others who formally submitted to Henry, observes Mr. Haverty, "understood Norman rapacity, or could have imagined that in paying homage to Henry as liege lord, they were conveying to him the absolute ownership of their territories." Absorbed in their own local feuds, they had not followed the course of events in England since the Conquest, or they would have been warned by the fate of the Anglo-Saxons,²⁸ every rood of whose lands was confiscated, and they themselves

²⁵ In the genealogical notes (chiefly derived from Sir William Betham) appended to the "Life of the last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," the name is curiously mistranslated, "Donogh of the pilgrimages." Imerce never meant a pilgrimage; it means "a shifting of the household goods and furniture from one holding to another, a departure, a migration." (Dinneen's Irish-English Dictionary, s.v.)

²⁶ The Ostmen or Danes of Cork certainly possessed, at the time of the Norman Invasion, a cantred near Cork, as appears from the Charter of Henry II. to Fitzstephen and De Cogan. This may have been part of Kerricurrihy, which, however, was not an original part of the tribeland of the Ui Eachach, though, as has been proved, it formed part of it in the time of Mahon.

²⁷ Mr. Gibson, repeating a statement for which Smith quotes no authority, says that "the Ostmen held Cork and the adjacent country in 1172," and that consequently MacCarthy "cannot have delivered up the city, which was in the possession of another." The Ostmen lived in a portion of the city, but if Cork was theirs, it would have had a Danish Bishop, acknowledging the jurisdiction of Canterbury, like Dublin and Limerick, where they had complete control. Mr. Gibson was not a critical writer on this period of Irish history, and filled many pages with mere fiction taken from the "Book of Howth," "written," says Dr. O'Donovan, "by some Anglo-Irish romancer."

²⁸ The Anglo-Saxons make a poor figure in history as compared to the Irish. "They bowed to the Norman as they bowed to the Dane," says Mr. Green ("Short History of the English People"). After one battle and an abortive attempt at insurrection, they resigned themselves to the oppression and contempt of their Norman masters. The Irish struggle for independence, under all the disadvantages of almost complete disunion, lasted for five centuries. The Attorney-General of James I., Sir John Davies, had

reduced to abject serfdom. Those Irish chiefs soon found Norman rule to be what, according to Mr. Lecky, it continued for centuries to be, "too weak to introduce order and obedience, yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius amongst the natives; . . . like a spear-point embedded in a living body, it inflamed all around it and deranged even vital functions." "It prevented," says Hallam, "the rise, in the course of time, of an Egbert or Harold to consolidate the provincial kingdoms into one hereditary monarchy." The faithlessness of the Norman was also made evident by the Charter given in 1177 to the two adventurers, Fitzstephen and De Cogan, a sweeping confiscation, or attempted confiscation, of the rights of chiefs and clansmen, who, if the attempt could be carried out, would henceforward exist on sufferance in their own land. The adventurers were owners of the whole county as far as a piece of parchment could make them owners, and their representatives in after times often described themselves, or were described in Inquisitions and by some recent writers, as "owners" of places they never were able to seize; thus Barry Oge was often described as the "owner" of Kinelmeky and Ibh Flan Lua (Muskerry). Of the thirty-one cantreds of the "Kingdom of Cork" (O'Donovan says "there was no such Kingdom"), they were only able to appropriate "seven contiguous to the city," says Giraldus, "agreeing to divide the tribute of the other twenty-four when they should have been brought into subjection." Cox improves on Giraldus by stating that "Dermod Mac Carthy and the others accepted of grants of those cantreds, paying a small yearly chief rent thereout." (Cox's *Regnum Corcagiense*). It is now well known that there were no such "grants" either given or accepted.

Had Donogh Na Himerce gone to make his submission to the English King, his action would have been recorded as was that of the Chief of the Deise, certainly not a more important tribe in South Munster than the Ui Eachach. There is reason for believing that he maintained towards the invaders the same attitude as his predecessor, who died fighting against them at Waterford; he, too, as we shall see, lost his life in the same way, after having undergone a considerable spoliation at their hands. This spoliation commenced in 1179; we are informed that the grantees of Henry's Charter given in 1177 proceeded to seize seven cantreds two years afterwards. De Cogan succeeded in seizing Dundrinane (now Castlemore), in the Muskerry portion of Donogh's territory, and as we learn from Cox (*Regnum Corcagiense*) fixed his residence there. It afterwards passed from him either by grant or by forcible capture to the son of Dermod Mac Carthy. Kinelea, in the east, was invaded and made over subsequently to Robert Fitzmartin,²⁹ from whom it passed to the Barrys.

occasion to write a book in 1612, entitled "A discoverie of the causes why Ireland was never brought under obedience to the Crown of England," and he "discovered" that "it is most certain that from Henry II. to 39th year of Elizabeth the English forces were too weak to subdue so many warlike septs."

²⁹ Kinelea (see ante, Vol. xii. No. 72, p. 190) was the old original possession of the Cinel Aedha, the elder branch of the Ui Eachach, the branch afterwards called after Mahon. From the genealogical pages of the "Book of Leinster" it is evident that no other Munster tribe was designated by that name, and that O'Donovan's conjecture on this point is unfounded. There is not the shadow of a proof that it ever passed to the Mac Carthys. Fitzmartin was in possession in 1207, and the Barrys, who obtained it from him, were

On the west coast, Richard de Carew, Marquis of Cork, who died in 1198, seized on Innisfodda (Long Island) and another ploughland, which he afterwards restored by way of a marriage portion when his daughter married Dermot Mor O'Mahon, the eldest son of Donogh. These seizures were rendered comparatively easy by the disastrous feuds that had arisen, at a most inopportune time, between the Irish tribes. In 1178 there had occurred one of the periodical wars between Thomond and Desmond, with the result, according to the Dublin *Annals of Innisfallen*, that "the country between Cork and Limerick was devastated, and the greater part of the race of Eoghan Mor fled into the woods of Ivagha." The compiler of those *Annals*, as we have often before observed, is not an impartial authority in recounting the exploits of the Dalcassian race; but whatever may have been the result of the war, it must have greatly weakened the Irish and favoured the enterprise of the English adventurers. Under the year 1179 an entry in the same *Annals* records that before that year, or at least before the end of it, Dermot Mac Carthy and O'Donoghue of Loch Lene (Killarney) had attacked and "expelled Donogh Na Himerce O'Mahon, King of the Ui Eachach." It is plain from this entry that Donogh's power was considerable when Dermot Mac Carthy did not venture to attack him without being reinforced by an auxiliary. It is plain, too, that Dermot's power over Co. Cork tribes was rather nominal than real, as he had to procure the required aid from the O'Donoghues seated in distant Magunihy, in Kerry. There is decisive evidence that Donogh recovered his position after this defeat, for in the Bodleian *Annals of Innisfallen*, under the year 1206, we read:—"The son of Dermot Mac Carthy³⁰ stirred against Fineen and Donogh Cairbreach O'Brien and O'Mahon and all Desmond." This quotation has to be given from an old English translation of the 17th century in T.C.D. Library, as the Irish text from the Bodleian MS. in Dr. O'Connor's edition is not complete, but ends with the year 1196. The passage is obscurely worded, but one thing appears plain enough, viz., that O'Mahon (Donogh Na Himerce) is mentioned as a power in Desmond. From the same (Bodleian) *Annals*, under the year 1201, we learn that in a war between Thomond and Desmond a portion of Donogh's tribeland, that in the vicinity of the Round Tower of Kinneigh, was terribly devastated. The O'Briens formed an alliance with De Burgo, who, like his confreres, was glad to interfere in Irish quarrels, and Dalcassian and English troops marched, says the Annalist, "into Muskerry Mitine, where they took many spoils, and then they marched to Kinneigh, where they tarried seven days, and they burned much corn in all the places

in occupation in 1240. ("Records of the Barrys," by Rev. Edm. Barry.) Some one of those families was, therefore, the occupier when Tracton Abbey was built in 1224. D'Allemand's (A.D. 1690) conjecture that it was built by the Mac Carthys (followed by Archdall and Smith) was an inference from an unfounded opinion that they were in occupation. One circumstance is quite decisive on this matter. The monks were brought from Alba Landa in Wales, the country of the Fitzmartins and Barrys. There were at that time in Ireland thirteen Cistercian Abbeys, and an Irish founder would have brought the monks from some one of those, at a time when animosity between English and Irish was at its height.

³⁰ In the Dublin copy of the "Annals of Innisfallen," under the same year, Donogh Na Himerce is mentioned with Donogh O'Brien and O'Donoghue as taking part in the "dethronement" of Fineen Mac Carthy (son of Dermot, King of Cork), who was replaced by his nephew and rival, Dermot Mac Carthy, of Dundroighnan. Donogh evidently took advantage of this dissension to obtain for himself immunity from attacks from that quarter.

they reached. They also killed Amhlaoibh O'Donovan, King of Hy Cairbre (Aedhbha) and Mac Oisdelb with some of his followers and many others." The Dublin copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen* alters the above by saying that O'Donovan was killed "at Kinneigh," and Dr. O'Donovan improves on this by the inference that O'Donovan was "then for some time seated at Kinneigh." However, in another passage (*Annals F. M.*, vol. 2, p. 934) he holds the opinion that the O'Donovan tribe did not abandon their home in Hy Fidgenti, Co. Limerick until the year 1229.³¹ This is a dreary narrative of feuds and rapine in the South of Ireland. Chroniclers of most other parts of the country record similar events, but it should be borne in mind that this state of affairs was not peculiar to the Irish tribes. "About this period," says Mr. Haverty (*Hist of Ireland*, chapt. xxi), "the mutual feuds of the English Barons in Ireland were as capricious and sanguinary as any that we have had to lament among the Irish." And if we look to the Continent, Germany was passing through the anarchy of the "Great Interregnum," and Italy was beginning to be torn asunder by the Guelph and the Ghibelline factions, which for two centuries embroiled its numerous petty republics. Rarely has it happened in any country in former times that domestic dissensions were checked by the apprehension that advantage might be taken of them by a foreign enemy. These observations it is necessary to make, as some readers might imagine that there was not, outside of Ireland, any instances of the folly exhibited by Mac Carthy³² and O'Donoghue in attacking O'Mahon in

³¹ In his notes to "Annals Four M.," A.D. 1178, the editor quotes, apparently without dissenting from it, the following passage of Dr. O'Brien (in Vallancey's *Collectanea*):—"In this expedition, the Dalcassians (1173) routed the O'Donovans of Hy Finguine or Carbre Aedhbha, in the Co. Limerick, and the O'Collinses of Ive Connail Gabhra, or Lower Connallo, and drove them beyond the mountains of Mangerton to the western parts of the Co. Cork. Here these two exiled Eugenic families, being powerfully assisted by the O'Mahonys, made new settlements for themselves in the ancient properties of the O'Donoghues, the O'Driscolls and O'Learies, to which three families the O'Mahonys were always declared enemies, and who were now driven to the borders of Loch Lene (Killarney), where Auliff Mor O'Donoghue had made some settlement before this epoch." The assistance rendered to the "two exiled Eugenic families" is in accordance with old and constant tradition, but all the subsequent statements are grossly inaccurate. It has been already shown that the whole tribe of O'Donoghue migrated about 1015, and that their lands became part of the "nine territories" of Mahon. A small portion of a tribe could not conquer Magunihy from the O'Carrolls, and a portion of the tribe left in the Ui Eachach tribeland would be dispossessed by their (then) hostile kinsmen of Mahon's tribe. There were not infrequent intermarriages between the families of the O'Mahon and O'Driscoll Chiefs. Sir Fineen O'Driscoll was the grandson of Connor Fionn O'M. of Ardintennant Castle, Chief of Ivagha. Dr. O'Donovan often alludes to the persistent inaccuracy, in historical matters, of that distinguished Irish scholar, Dr. O'Brien.

³² As Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Desmond, was the first Irish Chief who submitted to Henry II., his name has become a byword and a reproach. But it should be remembered that he repented of his course of action, and became a determined enemy of the unprincipled King, in whose view suzerainty implied a right of wholesale confiscation. Mr. D. F. Mac Carthy, in his spirited poem, "The Clan of Mac Caura," places Dermot on a "bad eminence" as the "base Dermot Mac Caura," for whose treason his posterity wept. But who "wept for his treason?" Not certainly Mac Carthy Reagh, who in A.D. 1496, when English power was at its lowest ebb, bound himself and successors in an "indenture," still extant, "to pursue and punish" his brother Irishmen who might be "rebels" against English rule, and whose line Cox certifies to have been of untainted loyalty until 1641, when Celtic independence was gone. Not Mac Carthy of Muskerry; Sir Cormac Mac Teig was a paragon of loyalty, and his successor sent a thousand men to oppose O'Neil and O'Donnell at Kinsale. Not Mac Carthy Mor, about whom see the scathing language of Dr. O'Donovan in notes to "Annals of the Four Masters,"

1179, in the presence of the English enemy, by whom they both lost their lives—the one in that very year, and the other in 1185.

After 1206 we have no record about O'Mahon until 1212, and he may have enjoyed an interval of peace, rare in his troubled career. By incessant struggles he had succeeded in preserving about two-thirds of his septland. But in 1212 the heroic old chieftain, who, born before 1135, must have been in or about his eightieth year, was once more in arms in defence of his rights against the English invaders, and the result is told by the Annalist:—*Donnchad na h-imirce timentil O Matghamha do marbhadh do Gallaidh*, "was killed by the foreigners."

Donogh left three sons, Muirchertach, Dermot Mor, and Conchobar. The chieftainship devolved on the eldest son, Muirchertach. His name, preserved in the *Annals*, does not occur in the genealogies, as his line became extinct by a tragic event, which will presently be related. Dermot Mor became the ancestor of the Chiefs of Ivagha, and Conchobar of those of Kinelmeky. The division of the sept may be considered to date from the time of Muirchertach. It was not the result of internal discord in the ruling family of the clan, but arose naturally through force of circumstances. Dermot Mor appears to have had during his father's lifetime, charge of the western portion of the tribeland. A portion—a small portion only—of the tribeland had been seized by Richard de Carew, one of the Norman adventurers who established himself in the West, obtained the title of Marquess of Cork, and built the Castle at Dunnamark.³³ He gave his daughter in marriage³⁴ to Dermot Mor, giving (in reality restoring), by way of a marriage portion, the island of Innisfodda (now Long Island) and a townland, "Calloghe-Chrage, by Schull Haven," which townland the present writer cannot identify. This statement rests on the authority of Sir George Carew, "a born genealogist," as he has been called, who was a descendant of the Marquess, and had, at the end of the 16th century, access to accurate information on the subject. Moreover, in the Irish genealogies (as in MS. 23, H.l.e., R.I. Academy) we find a "Ricard" among the four sons of Dermot Mor—a name sufficiently indicative of a Norman connection. Muirchertach was, no doubt, during his lifetime chief of all the tribeland east and west. But when the time came for Dermot to succeed him, part of the territory between Kinelmeky and Ivagha had been seized by Donal Gott Mac Carthy, and it was felt that it was no longer expedient that two disconnected territories should be under one ruler, and thus by tacit or express agreement Dermot remained as chief in Ivagha, and his brother Conchobar was elected Chief of Kinelmeky.

But to return to the history of Muirchertach. It appears that he was the first of his race designated by the appellation of Cairbreach,³⁵ "of

1506. Mac Donogh Mac Carthy of Duhallow and Donogh Maol, brother of Florence in Elizabeth's time, would certainly have lamented the "treason of Dermot."

³³ Dunnamark did not mean "the Marquess's Castle," as the author of the "*Pacata Hibernia*" thought. *Dun na mbairc*, the fort of the ships (a name formed like *Inbher na mbairc*, Bantry Bay) was a name of much more ancient date than Carew's Castle.

³⁴ There is evidence that his great-grandson, another Dermot Mor, married a daughter of another Marquess Carew, who, when a widow, married Donal Caomh Mac Carthy Reagh.

³⁵ Mr. McCarthy Glas gives a list of the historical documents, some extant and some lost, which were furnished to the French Heralds for the *Genealogie de Mac Carthy*."

Carbery," derived most probably from his having been "fostered" in Carbery, a part of his territory. There are several instances of names been given to Chiefs for a similar reason. When the genealogists of Louis XIV. recognised the origin of one of the exiled chiefs as commencing with "O'Mahoni de Carbrie, 1220," they must, according to their custom, have exacted the production of some historical document (now lost) referring to a chieftain who flourished at that date.

For twenty years the last chieftain of the undivided septland appears to have been left undisturbed by his Norman and Irish neighbours, but in 1232 a great disaster befell him from an unprovoked and treacherous attack, for which he was unprepared. This attack is described, with strong censure, by the (Bodleian) Innisfallen Annalist:—"A.D. 1232. Domhnall Gott Mac Carthaigh was taken prisoner by his own brother, Cormac Mac Carthaigh, but he was set at liberty by him at the end of a quarter, and immediately after this Domhnall went, at the instance of Maghnus O'Cobhthaigh and Fineen O'Muircheartach (O'Moriarty) to commit an unneighbourly act against Muirchertach O'Mathghamhna (O'Mahony), a thing which he did, for he slew the three sons of O'Mathghamhna, and plundered himself, and, in consequence of this, Domhnall Cairbreach and his race remained in the South from that forth."³⁶

The above translation is by Dr. O'Donovan, who gives also the original, in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, 1849, p. 142. But "Fineen O'Moriarty" is substituted for "the daughter of Moriarty" on the authority of the old English translation (T.C.D. Library) of the *Annals* by Duaid Mac Firbis, in whose Irish text was *finġin*, which in O'Donovan's copy became *ingġin* (a daughter), owing to the initial letter having become faint or obliterated. The old translation appears also to have brought out more clearly the force of the last sentence of the original:—"And therefore he (Donal Cott) is called Donal Cairbreagh, and his posterity also, for he enjoyed the South ever since." In the account of the origin of McCarthy Reagh's power in Carbery given by Mr. MacCarthy Glas, with copious quotations from Annals and other sources, the above record is omitted.

The bereaved chieftain died within the following eight years, for he must, of course, be the O'Mahony of Carbery referred to in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 1240:—"The Monastery of Timoleague was founded for Franciscan Friars by Mac Carthy Reagh, Lord of Carbery, and his own tomb was erected in the choir of the Friars. In this Monastery also Barrymore, O'Mahony of Carbery, and the Baron Courcy are interred." This entry must be said to refer to a new Church built by Mac Carthy Reagh on the site of the old Church of St. Molaga, for the adjoining Monastery was, beyond doubt, founded by Lord William Barry, as is clearly proved from the *Book of Timoleague in Records of the Barrys*, by Rev.

³⁶ The Dublin "Annals," under date of 1233, have:—"Domhnall Gott Cairbreach came to depose O'Mathghamhna and Cobhthaigh to Coill-t-Sealbhaigh, where he fought a battle, and slew the three sons of O'Mathghamhna, i.e., the three sons of Donnchadh na h-imirce timchill!" The authority of this modern compilation cannot be set against that of the ancient contemporary Annalist above quoted. It is clearly a blunder to give a different date, to describe O'Coffey as an ally instead of an enemy, and to imply that Donnchadh na Himerce, who died in 1212, was alive in 1233. The passage is here given as quoted by O'Donovan in his "Genealogy of Corcalaidhe." In other MSS. of the "Dublin Annals," the last clause is omitted.

Edmond Barry.³⁷ The tomb had doubtless existed in the old Church of St. Molaga, whose name, and not the circumstance of a new church, recommended it as a place of interment.

We shall now proceed with the history of the Kinelmeky Sept, as the Western Clan of Ivagha was an offshoot, though its chiefs were an elder branch of their family.

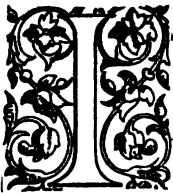
³⁷ Ex Libro Fratrum Minorum de Timolagge:—"Obiit Margeria De Courcey, uxor D. Wilhelmi Barry, primi fundatoris hujus Conventus, 1373." This date of course is not the date of the foundation, which may have been some forty or fifty years earlier (Harleian MSS., British Museum, and Ware's Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, now classed "Rawlinson, 470"). Wadding, who wrote in Italy, had not an opportunity of seeing this record. On this subject letters appeared in a local journal last year; neither of the writers seemed to be aware that the question was definitely settled in the "Records of the Barrys," and previously in Brennan's "Eccl. Hist. of Ireland."

(To be continued.)

"Vel etiam ruinæ periere."

Skiddy's Castle.

BY T. A. LUNHAM.



That part of old Cork, once known as Dungarvan, which constituted the northern suburb, but which subsequently became the North Main Street, and in a narrow lane on the western side, near the bridge, was situated Skiddy's Castle. The site is said to be now occupied by a house on the left-hand side, but all traces of the original structure have disappeared. Smith, writing in 1750, says:—"It was built in 1445 by John Skiddy, who was that year bailiff of the city, and afterwards Mayor. His descendants live in France, where they have acquired a good estate. This Castle is rented by the Crown from the Earl of Burlington, and is used as a magazine for gunpowder." (*History of Cork*, vol. i., p. 368.) The family of Skiddy was one of the most ancient among the citizens. William Skiddy was Mayor in 1365. The Castle is referred to in all the reports on the fortifications and magazines appertaining to the Crown in the province of Munster from the time of James I. The following notices of the owner of this Castle occur in original documents:—"Gerot, Earl of Desmond, writes to Cecil—"Cork, 1564, July 27. John Parker is just dead; Andrew Skiddy recommended to be Master of the Rolls in his stead." 1575. A lengthy document endorsed—"My title to the two messuadges be north William Skiddy is mansion house, and to the two messuadges be north the Castle, called Skiddy is Castle." This record contains also some genealogical particulars of interest. Stephen Skiddmor alias Skiddy, the munificent founder of Skiddy's Charity in the city, should also be remembered. He was a vintner, and one of the merchant princes of London in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He must have been a very wealthy man, as appears from the numerous bequests to almost

every charity in London recited in his will. He executed his will in 1584, March 20, and directs that his body shall be buried in St. Stephen's Parish Church, Collman Street, of which he was a parishioner, and wills that the Master, Wardens and Freemen of the Vintners and their successors do paie yearly for ever, after the decease of his wife, of the rents and profits of his land, the sum of £24 of lawful English money at the common hall of the said company, within the City of London, to the Mayor for the time being of Cork, in Ireland, wherein he was borne, and to be bestowed by the said Mayor of Cork, with the consent of his brethren, the Aldermen of said city, upon ten of the honestest, poorest persons of the said city of Cork, men or women, aged 50 years at least," &c.

The following notice of this charity occurs in Tuckey's *Cork Remembrancer*, under date 1718:—"The site of Skiddy's and Brettridge's Alms-house having fallen into decay, the Corporation determined upon finding another site, and letting the ancient one for the benefit of the charities, and accordingly took a piece of ground from the trustees of the Green Coat Hospital, upon which they erected a building capable of containing the inmates under the wills both of Skiddy and Brettridge" (p. 126). The Castle, after having been identified with the civil history of Cork for a number of years, was eventually dismantled by order of the Lord Lieutenant, the powder it contained being removed to the magazine (March 5, 1770). The building itself was soon after taken down. The late Mr. John Humphreys, Secretary to the Royal Cork Institution, and an eminent naturalist, remembered the demolition of the Castle, and used to narrate to his friends that it had an arched top, and that he saw a workman raised in a cage of wicker-work for two or three days over the key-stone, which he worked at, and finally loosened to such a degree that the entire arch collapsed, when he was at length lowered to the ground. There existed at that time a curious seat at the top of the Castle, called Skiddy's chair, which was then destroyed. A short time previously an eccentric young man, named James Hudson, whose father kept an apothecary's shop at the opposite side of the street, found a rat in a cage trap one morning, and having covered the unfortunate animal with turpentine, or other inflammable matter, set it on fire. The rat ran towards the magazine, and in spite of the efforts of the sentry on duty there, who attempted to kill it with his bayonet, actually succeeded in entering through a grating. Providentially the fire terminated its existence in time, as otherwise that entire portion of the city would have been destroyed. Not long afterwards Hudson, when returning from hunting, was thrown from his horse on the Glanmire road, where his lifeless body was found next morning. The horse returned to his stable. William Skiddy, whose will was proved at Cork, April 5, 1578, bequeaths (*inter alia*) to Christ Church, "a big girdle, or corse, of silver gilt, to be divided between the chancel and the body of the church, also three beds or plots of land he had in a garden in Shandon, to be sold to the most advantage, and to be equally divided between the chancel and the bodie of Christ Church." He appoints his brother, Roger Skiddie, Warden of Youghal, executor of this his last will. The ancient sepulchral memorial of the Skiddy family might recently be seen against the north wall behind Christ Church. On a sandstone slab were the armorial bearings of the family, viz., a chevron between three stirrups. Beneath was an inscription, with the date 1602. This stone formerly occupied a

place in the church, but every memorial was displaced, and many were destroyed, in the so-called "restorations" of 1829.

1583. Sept. 10. "Ormond to Burghley. The objections devised against him in Skiddy's Castle at Cork, with the assistance of John Fitz Edmonds. Ormond's inclination to mercy after so much bloodshed and great execution."

1583. Nov. 17. "Andrew Skiddye was Recorder of Cork." In the map of Cork in Harris's *Life of William III.*, p. 290, "The King's Storehouse" is shown as occupying a considerable area.

Upon the suppression of the Franciscan Monastery of Seandun (Shandon), better known as the North Abbey, this friary, with its appurtenances and forty acres of land in the town of Templenemarhyr, also a park containing one acre and a half, and a stang, with seven gardens, parcel of its possessions, were granted to Andrew Skiddy and his heirs, in capite, at the annual rent of 58s. 8d. sterling, 26th May, 1566, 8th Q. Eliz. (Archdall, *Monasticon*, p. 66.) Skiddy died in 1596, and appears to have been succeeded in the property by his son, according to an Inquisition taken in April of that year.

In 1557, Richard Skiddy, or Skidmore, Dean of Limerick, was appointed Bishop of Cork by Queen Mary, and subsequently by her successor. He resigned in 1566, and was afterwards Warden of the College of Youghal, an office he continued to fill in 1577.

He is included by Stanihurst in his list of "The names or surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what books they wrote." What the titles of the books were, however, we are not informed.

The Early Irish Manuscripts of Munster.

[In the 18th century Munster had almost a monopoly of the Gaelic poets, whose genius, learning, patriotism and itinerant propensities, furthermore, saved the Irish language from utter extinction in the South—samples of whose writings and some account of those of their number who belonged to the County Cork appeared in the early numbers of this *Journal*, and now form a separate volume, still to be had of Messrs. Guy and Co., Cork. In the 19th century the County Cork gave birth to such distinguished writers on Irish subjects as the late Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., the Rev. Thomas Olden, M.A.; Canon Smiddy, the Rev. E. Barry, and the Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, the lately deceased parish priest of Inniscarra, who brought out the remaining volumes of the *Annals of Ulster* (the first of which was edited by a Co. Kerry man, the late William Maunsell Hennessy), who, it is said, was to have likewise edited the *Annals of Tighernach*. In the present century Munster men again are foremost in the revival of the Irish language, as, for instance, such writers as the Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., the Rev. P. S. Dinneen, S.J., and the indefatigable Canon P. O'Leary, P.P.; the Rev. Professor O'Hickey, and the Rev. R. Henebery, who belong to the Co. Waterford; Mr. T. O'Neill Lane, of Co. Limerick, and Mr. P. J. O'Shea (Conan Maol), now of London, who hails

from the Kingdom of Kerry. But of the literature, learning, and scholarship of the early days of Munster, though no doubt not much behindhand, if not equal or superior to those of other parts of Ireland at that time, we have now but little proofs or relics left, as the Munster manuscripts of this period scarcely number half a dozen in all. Of these still little-known MSS. some account is supplied in the following paper.—J. C.]



THE *Book of Munster* (writes Eugene O'Curry in his MS. *Materials of Ancient Irish History*, Dublin, 1872) is an independent compilation, but of uncertain date, as we happen to have no ancient copy of it; but as its leading points are to be found in the Books of Leinster, Ballymote and Lecain, we may believe that they must have taken their abstracts from this ancient book in its original form. There are two copies of it in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, both made at the beginning of the last century, but neither of them giving any account of the originals from which they were transcribed. The book, as is usual, begins with a record of the Creation from the Book of Genesis, merely for the purpose of carrying down the pedigrees of Noah and Japhet, from whom the Milesians of Erin descend—the history of whose southern branch, the Ebercans, is then carried down from Eber to Brian Boromhe and the time of the Battle of Clontarf. In this particular *Book of Munster* there is a mass of details relative to the various disputes and contentions regarding succession between rival local aspirants (to kingship and chieftaincy), as well as between North and South Munster, or the Dalcassian and Eugenian lines, not to be found in any other work I am acquainted with. I may particularly call attention to the detailed account it contains of the contests and circumstances attending the succession to the throne of Munster of Cathal Mac Finguine about the year 790; of Feilim Mac Crimthain, about 824; of Cormac MacCullinan, about 885; of Ceallachain of Cashel, about 934; and of Brian Boromhe, about 976—all of which are full of historic interest, and the more so as they are founded upon indisputable facts not elsewhere minutely or satisfactorily recorded.

The *Book of Munster*, including the pedigrees of the leading families of Munster, consists of 260 pages folio, equal to 400 pages of the (O'Donovan) *Annals of the Four Masters*. I believe there is a vellum copy of it in the Franciscan College of St. Isidore at Rome.

The composition of the very extensive body of ecclesiastical, as well as general, historic records known as the *Annals of Innisfallen*, is usually attributed to the early part of the thirteenth century, about A.D. 1215; but there is very good reason to believe that they were commenced at least two centuries before this period. The Monastery of Inis Faithlenn (pronounced Inishfalen) or Inisfallen, on the island of the same name in Loch Lein (i.e., Killarney Lake) is of great antiquity, dating from the sixth century, in the latter part of which it was founded by Saint Finan Lobhar, also the founder of Ard Finan, Co. Tipperary, and other churches, a Saint whose festival was observed on the 16th of March, according to the Martyrology of Aengus Ceile De'. Amongst those who flourished in this monastery at the close of the tenth century was Maelsuthain

O'Cearbhaill (pronounced Maelsoohun O'Carroll). This remarkable man was Lord of the Eoganacht or Eugenic tribes of the Loch Lein territory. It is probable that he had received his early education within the walls of Inisfallen; and at the close of his days, after an eventful life, we find him again one of its inmates, as was not unusual with princes at that time. Maelsuthain appears to have attained great eminence as a scholar. He is styled the Chief Saoi or Doctor of the Western World, in the notice of his death under the year 1009, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. He attained also a high degree of consideration amongst his contemporary princes. There is reason to believe that Brian Boromhe was educated under the care of this Maelsuthain, and at a subsequent time we find the latter named the Anmchara or Counsellor of Brian, when that great Dalcassian Chief was Monarch of Erin.

There has always existed in the South of Ireland a tradition that the *Annals of Inisfallen* were originally composed by Maelsuthain; and a similar statement is made by Edward O'Reilly in his *Irish Writers*. Taking into account his acknowledged learning, the character of his mind, his own station, and the opportunities afforded him by his association with the chief monarch of Erin, there is certainly no improbability in connecting this O'Carroll with the composition of these *Annals*; and for my own part, I have no doubt that he was either the original projector of them, or that he enlarged the more meagre outlines of ecclesiastical events, kept in the Inisfallen Monastery, as probably in most others, into a general historic work.

Of the continuation of these *Annals* to the two centuries subsequent to Maelsuthain down to the year 1215, little is known. No genuine copy of this important body of *Annals* is now to be found in Ireland, and we must, therefore, draw from the description by Dr. O'Connor in the Stowe Catalogue of the copy of the *Annals of Inisfallen*, a quarto MS. on parchment in the Bodleian Library, Oxford:—

"It contains 57 leaves, of which the three first are considerably damaged, and the fourth partly obliterated. Some leaves are also missing at the beginning. In its present state the first treats of Abraham and the Patriarchs down to the sixth, where the title is 'Hic incipit Regnum Græcorum.' At the end of this leaf another chapter begins thus: 'Hic incipit Sexta ætas Mundi.' The leaves follow in due order from folio nine to the end of folio thirty-six, but unfortunately there are several blanks after this. On the fortieth leaf two lines occur in Ogham characters. Towards the end the writing varies considerably, and is unquestionably more recent and barbarous. The latter part of this valuable MS, adds Dr. O'Connor, from folio thirty-six, where the division of each page into three columns ceases, and where a leaf is missing, appears to be written by a more recent hand; so that from inspection it might be argued that the real original ended with the year 1130, and that the remainder has been added by different Abbots of Inisfallen afterwards. Down to 1130 the initials are rudely adorned and coloured, and the writing is elegant; but from thence to the end there is no attempt at any species of ornament, and the writing declines from barbarous to more barbarous still in proportion as we approach the end. The last leaf is the fifty-seventh of the manuscript, and ends with the year 1319. The few scattered notices relative to the pagan history of Ireland, which are occasionally introduced and syn-

chronized with the universal history in the first leaves of this chronicle have been carefully collated and published in vol. i. of *Rerum Hibernicarum*; and from a collation of these fragments with those preserved in the same manner by Tighernach, it is very clear that both are founded on a common source."

The following is Innes' account of this MS. when it was preserved in the Duke of Chandos's Library:—"In the same Chandos Library are the *Annals of Inisfallen* and of *Tighernach*. These, indeed, want some leaves in the beginning and elsewhere, and begin only about the time of Alexander the Great. But till St. Patrick's time they treat chiefly of the general history of the world. The *Annals of Inisfallen* contain very little of the history of Ireland till the year 430, where the author properly begins at folio nine a chronicle of Ireland thus: 'Laogaire Mac Neil regnavit annis xxiv.'; and thenceforward it contains a short chronicle of Ireland to 1318. These three manuscript chronicles, viz., the *Saltair of Cashel*, *Tighernach*, and *Inisfallen*, are written in Irish characters and in the Irish language, intermixed with Latin; they were formerly collected, with many other valuable MSS. relating to Ireland, by Sir James Ware, and came first to the Earl of Clarendon, and then to the Duke of Chandos."

Professor O'Curry further mentions that there is also a compilation of the latter half of the eighteenth century by John O'Mulconry, of Ardchoill, Co. Clare, called the *Annals of Inisfallen*, but why so named, he adds, is not sufficiently clear.

The *Saltair of Cashel* was compiled by the learned and venerable Cormac Mac Cullinan, King of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel, who was killed in the year 903. At what time this book was lost we have no precise knowledge, but that it existed, though in a dilapidated state, in the year 1454 is evident from the fact that there is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Laud, 610) a copy of such portions of it as could be deciphered at that time, made by Seaan or Shane O'Clery for Mac Richd. Butler. From the contents of this copy, and from the frequent references to the original for histories and genealogies found in the Books of Ballymote, Lecan, and others, it must have been a historical and genealogical compilation of large size and great diversity. If, as there is reason to believe, the ancient compilation, so well known as *Cormac's Glossary*, was compiled from that interlined Gloss to the *Saltair* we may well feel that its loss is the greatest we have suffered, so numerous are the references and citations of history, law, romance, druidism, mythology, and other subjects, in which this Glossary abounds. It is besides invaluable in the study of Gaedhlic comparative philology, as the author traces a great many of the words either by derivation from, or comparison with, the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, British, and, as he terms it, the Northmantic language; and it contains at least one Pictish word, "Cartait," almost the only word of the Pictish language that we possess. There is a small fragment of this Glossary remaining in the ancient *Book of Leinster*, which is as old as the year 1150, and a perfect copy, made about the year 1400, is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, besides two fragments of it in O'Clery's copy of the *Saltair* in the Bodleian Library.'

The *Book of Fermoy* forms the subject of a separate paper by the late

¹ *Cormac's Glossary* has since been published by Whitley Stokes in 1868.

Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, Dublin, published in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Irish MSS. Series, vol. i., part i; Dublin: Gill, 1870. "In presenting to the Academy," writes Dr. Todd, "a catalogue of the contents of the ancient Irish manuscript commonly called the *Book of Fermoy*, it was my wish to have accompanied it by some account of the history of the MS., but I regret to say that I have found but little to record. I am not sure that the title, *Book of Fermoy* is ancient, or that it was the original name of the volume, neither can I ascertain when the MS. was first so-called. There is in the box which now contains the manuscript a paper giving a short and very imperfect account of its contents, written about the beginning of the 19th century, in which it is said to have been then in the possession of William Monck Mason, Esq. This paper is apparently in the handwriting of Edward O'Reilly, author of the *Irish Dictionary*, but unfortunately is not dated. The *Book of Fermoy* was sold in London at the sale of Mr. Mason's books in 1858, where I purchased it, together with the autograph MS. of O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell*, with a view to have both manuscripts deposited in the Academy's Library. For the *Book of Fermoy* I gave £70, and for the *Life of Red Hugh* £21—in all £91, which sum was advanced in equal shares by Lord Talbot de Malahide, General Sir Thomas Larcom, Charles Haliday, and myself; and it may be worth mentioning, to show the rapid increase in the market value of Irish manuscripts, that the *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell* had been sold at Dublin in 1830, at Edward O'Reilly's sale, for £3 7s."²

The *Book of Fermoy* might with equal propriety be called the *Book of Roche*. It is a loose collection of miscellaneous documents, written at different times, and in very different hands; but it contains a number of bardic poems and tracts on the general history of Ireland, and a very curious collection of legendary, mythological and Fenian tales. It begins with a copy of the "Leabhar Gabhala," or "Book of Invasions," written in the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, very much damaged and imperfect at the end. Then follows that portion of the book which contains the legendary and mythological tales, written in the fifteenth century. This is in many respects the most interesting and valuable part of the volume, which also contains some historical bardic poems on the O'Connors or O'Conors of Connaught, the O'Keeffes of Fermoy, the MacCarthy, Roche, and other families of the South of Ireland.

The volume concludes with some fragments of medical treatises in the usual exquisitely neat handwriting peculiar to Irish medical manuscripts. These fragments were certainly no part of the original *Book of Fermoy*; they probably belonged to the family of O'Hickey, who were hereditary physicians, and whose name occurs more than once inscribed in the margins and blank places of this portion of the manuscript."

Dr. Todd then goes on with a detailed analysis of the contents of the *Book of Fermoy*, extending from page 5 to page 54. On page 20 he states that folio 34 of the MS. book contains a curious and valuable account of the banishment of St. Mochuda, otherwise Carthach, from Raithin (now Rahan), near Tullamore, King's Co., and his settlement at Lismore, where

² This O'Clery's *Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell*, edited, translated, and annotated by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., was published by Sealy, Dublin, in 1893.

he founded a celebrated school and episcopal see in the seventh century. His banishment from Raithin seems to have been due to the jealousy of the neighbouring clergy, and partly to his being a native of Munster. On folio 60, Dr. Todd states, begins a tract on St. Molaga, the founder of the church and monastery of Tech Molaga, now Timoleague, Co. Cork, and of many other churches in Ireland—a tract extremely valuable for its topography and local allusions.

Of the early Irish manuscripts emanating from Munster described by O'Curry, the *Book of Lismore* is that of which the fullest account is furnished by him, and the one that will prove of most interest probably to Cork readers, from its former curious connection with Cork City. "In the Library of the Royal Irish Academy there is," he writes, "a fragment of the book well known as the *Book of Lismore*. This is a manuscript on paper of the largest folio size and best quality. It is a fac-simile copy made by me from the original, in the year 1839, for the Royal Irish Academy. This transcript is an exact copy, page for page, and line for line, word for word and contraction for contraction, and was carefully and attentively read over and collated with the original by Dr. John O'Donovan and myself. And, indeed, I may safely say that I have recovered as much of the text of the original as it was possible to bring out, without the application of acids or other chemical preparations, which I was not at liberty to use.

"Of the history of the original MS., which is finely written in vellum of the largest size, we know nothing previous to the year 1814. In that year the then Duke of Devonshire commenced the work of repairing Lismore Castle, and in the progress of the work, the men having occasion to re-open a doorway that had been closed up with masonry in the interior of the Castle, they found a wooden box enclosed in the centre, which, on being taken out, was found to contain this manuscript, as well as a superb old crozier (the latter still preserved in Lismore Castle). The MS. had suffered much from damp, and the back, front and margin had been gnawed in several places by rats or mice; but more than that, the workmen, it is said, carried off several loose leaves and even whole staves of the book. Whether this be the case or not, it is, I regret to say, true that the greater number of the tracts contained in it are defective, and, as I believe, whole tracts have disappeared from it altogether since the time of its discovery.

"The book was preserved for some time with great care by the late Colonel Curry, the Duke of Devonshire's agent, who, however, lent it in 1815, to Dennis O'Flinn, a professed but very indifferent Irish scholar, then living in Mallow Lane in the City of Cork. O'Flinn bound it in wooden boards, and disfigured several parts of it by writing on the MS. While in O'Flinn's hands it was copied, in the whole or in part, by Michael O'Longan, of Carrignavar, near Cork. After having made such use of the book as he thought proper, O'Flinn, who gave it the name of the *Book of Lismore*, merely because it was found at that place, returned it to Colonel Curry some time between the years 1816 and 1820; and so the venerable old relic remained unquestioned, and I believe unopened, until it was borrowed by the Royal Irish Academy to be copied for them by me in the year 1839. The facilities afforded me in its fac-simile transcript enabled me to discover that not only was the abstraction of portions of the old book

of recent date, but that the dishonest act had been deliberately perpetrated by a skilful hand, and for a double purpose; for not only had whole staves been pilfered, but particular subjects were mutilated, so as to leave the part that was returned to Lismore almost valueless without the abstracted parts, the offending parties having first, of course, copied all or the most part of the mutilated pieces.

"After my transcript was finished and the fragments of the original returned to Lismore, I instituted on my own account a close inquiry in Cork with the view of discovering whether any part of the *Book of Lismore* still remained there. Some seven or eight years passed over, however, without my gaining any information, when I happened to meet by accident in Dublin a literary gentleman from Midleton, Co. Cork, and as I never missed an opportunity of prosecuting my inquiries, I lost no time in communicating to him my suspicions that part of the *Book of Lismore* must still be in Cork. To my joy and surprise he told me that he had certain knowledge of the fact of a large portion of the original MS. being in the hands of some person in Cork; that he had seen it in the hands of another party, but that he did not know the owner, nor how he became possessed of it.

"Shortly after this the late Sir William Betham's collection of MSS. passed by purchase into the Library of the R. I. Academy; and as I knew that the greater part of this collection had been obtained from Cork, I lost no time in examining them closely for any copies of pieces from the *Book of Lismore*. Nor was I disappointed, for I found among them copies of the Lives of St. Brendan, St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, St. Mochna of Balla, Co. Mayo, and St. Finnchu of Brigobhann, in the Co. Cork, besides several legends and minor pieces, all copied by Michael O'Longan from the *Book of Lismore*, in the house of Denis Ban O'Flinn, in Cork, in the year 1816. Not only does he state at the end of one of these lives that he copied them from the book O'Flinn had borrowed from Lismore, but he gives the weight of it and the number of leaves or folios which the book in its integrity contained. . . The following memorandum in pencil, in an unknown hand, has come into my possession :—' Mr. Denis O'Flynn, of Mallow Lane, Cork, has brought a work from Lismore lately, written on vellum about 900 years ago, by Miles O'Kelly for Florence McCarthy; it contains the lives of some principal Irish Saints, with other historical facts, such as the Wars of the Danes. 31st October, 1815.'

" With all these evidences before me," continues Professor O'Curry, "of a part of the *Book of Lismore*, having been detained in Cork, I prevailed on a friend of mine in that city, in the year 1853, to endeavour to ascertain in whose hands it was, what might be the nature of its contents, whether it would be sold, and at what price. All this my friend kindly performed. He procured me what purported to be a catalogue of the contents of the Cork part of the *Book of Lismore*, and he ascertained that the fragments consisted of 66 folios, or 132 pages, and that it would be sold for fifty pounds. I immediately offered, on the part of the Rev. Doctors Todd and Graves, then the Secretaries to the R.I.A., the sum named for the book, but some new conditions were added, and the negotiations broke off at this point.

"The book shortly afterwards passed by purchase into the possession of Thomas Hewitt, Esq., of Summerhill House, near Cork; and in January,

1855, a memoir of it was read before the Cork Cuvierian Society by John Windele, Esq., of Blair's Castle, in which he made the following statement:—'The work, it was at first supposed, may have been a portion of the *Book of Lismore*, so well known to our literary antiquarians, but it is now satisfactorily ascertained to have been transcribed in the latter half of the fifteenth century for Fineen McCarthy Reagh, Lord of Carbery, and his wife, Catherine, daughter of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond.'

... "That Mr. Windele believed what he wrote about the Cork fragment there can, of course, be no doubt; still it is equally indubitable that this same fragment is part and parcel of the *Book of Lismore*, from which it became detached while in the hands of Denis O'Flinn, of Cork, some time about the year 1816. It is equally certain that the book which Mr. Hewitt purchased is nothing more than a fragment, consisting of about one-third part of the *Book of Lismore*, and that this part was fraudulently abstracted at Cork at the time above indicated. And although I have never seen any part of the Cork fragment, I feel bold enough to say that should both parts be brought together in presence of competent judges, they will be pronounced to be parts of the same original volume, and that several of the defects in either will be exactly supplied by the other.

"My transcript of the Lismore fragment of this valuable book consists of 131 folios or 262 pages, the chief items of whose contents are Ancient Lives of Saints Patrick, Columcille, Brigid of Kildare, Senan of Scattery Island in the Shannon, Finnen of Clonard, and Finnchu of Brigobhan (or Brigown, Mitchelstown), all written in Gaelic of great purity and antiquity; the Conquests of Charlemagne, translated from the mediæval romance ascribed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims; the conversion of the Pantheon at Rome into a Christian Church; the story of Petronilla, daughter of St. Peter; the history of the Lombards, an account of St. Gregory the Great, and of the successors of Charlemagne, and of some modifications of certain ceremonies of the Mass; extracts from Marco Polo's Travels; an account of the celebrated Munster King Ceallachan's battles with the Danes; of the battle of Crinna between King Cormac Mac Art and the Ulstermen, and of the siege of Drom Damghaire, now called Knocklong, by the same King against the men of Munster. This last, though a strictly historic tale in its leading facts, is full of wild incident, in which Mogh Ruith, the great Munster druid, and Cithruadh and Colptha, Cormac's druids, bear a most conspicuous and curious part.

"The last piece in the *Book of Lismore* is one of very great interest. It is in the form of a dialogue between St. Patrick and the two surviving warriors of the band of heroes led by the celebrated Finn MacCumhaill—Casilte, the son of Ronan, and Oisín or Ossian, the warrior poet, the son of Finn. It describes the situation of several of the hills, mountains, rivers, caverns, rills, &c., of Ireland, with the derivation of their names. It is much to be regretted that this very curious tract is imperfect, as we should probably have found in it notices of almost every monument of note in ancient Ireland. Even in its mutilated state it cannot but be regarded as preserving many of the most ancient traditions to which we can now have access—traditions which were committed to writing at a period when the ancient customs of the people were unbroken and undisturbed."

Specimens of the caligraphy of the *Books of Fermoy* and *Lismore* are given at the end of O'Curry's Manuscript Materials, in the Index to

which he states that the Cork fragment above alluded to had then been happily restored to the original MS. book³ at Lismore Castle.

Respecting the *Cath Finntragha* or the Battle of the White Strand, a name now Anglicised Ventry Harbour, in West Kerry, O'Curry tells us that this is an ancient Fenian tale, as may be judged from the story mentioned in it of the unfortunate lovers, Cael and Crede, as well as from a damaged copy of it on vellum preserved in an old manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; but the paper copies of it, which are numerous in Ireland, are very much corrupted in language and interpolated with trivial and incongruous incidents. The tale is a pure fiction, but related with considerable force and in a highly popular style.

It begins with the statement that Daire Dornmhar, the Emperor of the whole world except Erin, calls together all the tributary kings of his empire to join him in an expedition to Erin to subjugate it and enforce tribute. He arrives with a great fleet at Glas Carrig (now the Skellig Rocks), off Kerry, piloted by Glas Mac Dremain, a soldier of Kerry, who had been previously banished by Finn Mac Cumhaill. This Glas Mac Dremain, who was well acquainted with his native coast, brought the fleet safely into the noble harbour of Finntraigh or Ventry, from which place the emperor determined to subdue the country.

Finn had at all times some of his trusty warriors, vigilant and swift of foot, posted at all the harbours of the country for the purpose of giving him timely information of the approach or landing of any foreign foe in Ireland; and not the least important, as well as interesting, part of this tale is the list of these harbours, with their ancient as well as their more modern names. Finn at the actual time of the invasion was enjoying the pleasures of swimming and fishing in the river Shannon, where a message from his warden at Ventry reached him with the important news. In the meantime it also reached several chiefs and warriors of the Tuatha de Danann race who were located in Ui Chonaill Gabra in the present county of Limerick; and several of these simultaneously with Finn set out for Ventry, where they all arrived in due time, and immediately entered upon a series of combats with the foreign enemy.

Tidings of the invasion were soon carried into Ulster also, and Gall, a youth of fifteen, son of the King of that province, obtained leave from his father to come to Finn's assistance at the head of a fine band of young Ulster volunteers. Young Gall's ardour, however, cost him very dear; for having entered the battle with extreme eagerness, his excitement soon increased to absolute frenzy, and after having performed astounding deeds of valour, he fled in a state of derangement from the scene of slaughter, and never stopped until he plunged into the wild seclusion of a deep glen far up the country. This glen has ever since been called Glenn-na-n-Gealt, or the Glen of the Lunatics; and it is even to this day believed in the South that all the lunatics of Erin would resort to this spot if they were allowed to be at large.

The siege, as it may be called, of Ventry Harbour, held for a year and a day, but at length the foreign foe was beaten off with the loss of all his best men, and indeed of nearly the whole of his army; and thus Finn and

³ Dr. Whitley Stokes published in 1890 an edition of the "Lives of the Saints" from the *Book of Lismore*.

his brave warriors, as was long their custom, preserved the liberty and integrity of their native land. The tale of the Battle of Ventry is of no absolute value as historic authority for the incidents related in it, but the many names of places and the various manners and customs traditionally handed down and preserved in it render it of considerable interest to the student of Irish history."

The oldest extant version of the *Cath Finntraga*, that preserved in the Bodleian Library, as mentioned by O'Curry, was published, with a translation and notes by Professor Kuno Meyer, of Liverpool, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1885. Professor Meyer describes the Bodleian MS. as a vellum quarto dating from the 15th century, whose text was written by a certain Finnlach O Chathasaig (Finlay O'Casey), who gives his name at the end, and states that he wrote it for Sadb, daughter of Tadg O Maille (Teague O'Malley). Professor Meyer further states that there are fourteen known paper copies of the *Cath Finntraga* all of which he had seen, and all representing a different version of the tale from that translated by him. The numerous copies as well as frequent references to it in modern Irish literature show that it was one of the favourite romantic compositions of the Irish, and its memory still lingers on among the people in the South and West of Ireland. No mention of it, however, is found in the older Irish literature, and it is thus likely that the origin of the story must not be referred back to a much earlier date than that of the oldest MS., viz., the 15th century. That this story has any historical basis Professor Meyer states it was impossible for him to say.

Dean Hamilton of Cloyne.

By REV. CHARLES A. WEBSTER, B.D.



NOTHING bearing on the history of Cloyne and its ancient Cathedral will be of interest to the readers of the *Archæological Journal*. Through the kindness of a parishioner,¹ I have seen the Letters of Dispensation to Rev. J. A. Hamilton bestowing on him the Deanery of Cloyne. The Letters are dated September 24th, 1804, and the confirmatory Letters Patent from George III. bear date September 29th,² in the 44th year of His Majesty's reign. The seal of the realm is attached, as well as that of His Majesty's Court of Prerogatives and Faculties. The Letters of Dispensation are from Primate Stuart, and state that "together with the Prebend and Prebendal dignity of Mullagbrack, in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Armagh, and Rectory of Mullaghbrack as Corps thereof in the Diocese of Armagh, which you now possess, you may receive, have, hold and possess whilst you live in canonical title the Deanery of the Cathedral Church of Cloyne; provided

¹ Mrs. J. F. Clarke, Passage West.

² Not as Brady states, September 17th.

DEAN HAMILTON OF CLOYNE.



LETTERS PATENT.



SILVER BOX.



SHAVING DISH.

whereas that the cure of souls in that parish wherein you yourself shall not personally reside be rightly and constantly served by a sufficient curate or curates approved and to be approved by the Ordinary of the place or places, and that the ordinary and extraordinary burdens thereof be duly supported, provided also that you reside six months in the Prebend or Prebendal Dignity of Mullaghbrack, in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Armagh, and Rectory of Mullaghbrack, and six months in the Cathedral Church of Cloyne in every year, unless dispensed with by Us to the contrary."

Those were the days of pluralities, but during his six months' residence in Armagh the spiritual ministrations of Cloyne seem to have been carefully provided for. David Burke was Vicar-Choral, 1803-25. John William Bennett was Sub-Dean and Residentiary Preacher in 1804. James Sandiford was Curate and Preacher Residentiary in 1807. William Butler succeeded Sandiford, and in 1811 William Hales Hingston was appointed Curate on the nomination of Dean Hamilton.

Dean Hamilton was born at Athlone in 1747, and was educated at the Royal School, Armagh, under Dr. Grueber, and passed through Trinity College, Dublin. A few years after his ordination he was collated in 1780 to the Rectory of Derryloran, and while holding that cure he had a private observatory in Cookstown, in which he made several valuable observations, especially on the transit of Mercury. From 1784 to 1790 he was Treasurer of Armagh and R.V. of Creggan. In March, 1790 he was appointed Archdeacon of Ross, and also Prebendary of Tynan. In the same year he exchanged the Prebend of Tynan for that of Mullaghbrack, which he held with the Archdeaconry of Ross until 1804, when he was appointed Dean of Cloyne.

Hamilton was evidently in great favour with Primate Robinson, who was translated from Kildare to Armagh in 1765, and afterwards created Baron Rokeby. Amongst the many munificent things that "the second founder of Armagh" (as Dr. Robinson has been called) was the founding of an Astronomical Observatory, which has inscribed on the intabature in front the words, "The heavens declare the glory of God." Dr. Hamilton was appointed the first Astronomer Royal of Armagh in 1790. He died at the Observatory on November 21st, 1815, having held the Deanery of Cloyne with his other appointments from 1804 to that date. Hamilton was the author of several astronomical papers which were printed in the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 1794-1807.

There are in the possession of my parishioner two handsome pieces of silver which belonged to the Dean. One, a silver box, bearing the inscription, "The gift of His Grace, Richard, Lord Primate, to J. A. Hamilton, D.D., 1793." The other a large shaving dish, weighing 22 oz., which has on it a coat of arms and these two inscriptions:—

"General Archibald Hamilton, 1748.
J. A. Hamilton, D.D., 1785."

On the back of this dish Mr. Powell, of J. Mangan's, Ltd., to whom I showed it, discovered written in almost diminutive characters the following: "Peter Holmes, Ely Place, March 12th, 1819. Rest his soul. Amen."

Early Irish Modes of Burial.

[In one of the early volumes of the *Journal* of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, now the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland—that for the years 1852-3, published in 1855—appeared two very interesting contributions from our great local antiquaries, the late Messrs. Brash and Windele. The former's paper was on "Buttevant and its Antiquities," and it was in reference to the Tumuli in the neighbourhood of Buttevant (which happily so far remain) that Mr. Brash wrote his disquisition on Tumuli in general, which is here partly reproduced. This paper and part of that of Mr. Windele's in the same volume, together with a recent contribution kindly sent by the Rev. J. F. Lynch, Rector of Cahirconlish, who is so able and enthusiastic a student of this and kindred Irish subjects, will be found to throw no inconsiderable light on the question of the early Irish modes of burial—one which strongly appeals to all who are interested in Irish archæology.]



TUMULI, wrote Mr. Brash, are generally either memorial or sepulchral, erected to commemorate a victory, the fall of a chief or hero, or as a sepulchral mound to enclose the remains of the noble or heroic dead. These monuments are distinguished from the rath or lios (lis) by their form and superior elevation, their figure being generally a frustum of a cone, whose base is of considerable proportion to its height. They are found of all sizes, from the small memorial hillock of a dozen or fifteen yards diameter, to the mighty sepulchral mounds, whose bases are acres in extent, and whose bulk and altitude give them more the appearance of being the production of nature than formed by the puny hands of man, containing within their bosoms the cemeteries of dynasties who reigned anterior to Christianity. That the custom of raising such memorials was general amongst the primitive tribes both of the Old and New World, we have the concurrent testimony of ancient authors and modern travellers. Of this description was the tomb of Patrocles, and similar also were the monuments of Achilles, Antiloctius, Menelaus, and Ajax. Herodotus describes similar mounds over the Kings of Scythia, and similar monuments are noticed by travellers in Muscovy and Persia, Friesland and Westphalia, near Novgorod, and the country of the Don Cossacks and Crim Tartary, and in Central America; while the pyramids of Egypt and the dagova of India are but the more refined expression of an observance almost as ancient as the world itself.

The remains of these monuments are numerous in the British Islands, whether designated as moats, carns, or barrows. They are frequently met with in Ireland; in the counties of Louth, Meath, Roscommon, King's and Queen's Counties, Kildare and Tipperary they are exceedingly numerous, and generally termed moats by the peasantry. They are formed of various materials, being sometimes composed entirely of earth, also of earth and stones in various proportions, and in many instances exclusively

of stones of various sizes. Mounds of this latter class are termed *carns*. Of this description are Knocknaree (Co. Sligo), Slieve Croob (Co. Down), Carnbane and Aughnacloughmullen (Co. Armagh), Cairn Thierna (near Fermoy), and the enormous mound of New Grange (Co. Meath), calculated by measurement to contain 200,000 tons of stones, the most of which must have been conveyed a distance of several miles.

The moat of memorial is generally a simple mound of the form and materials above described, with, in some instances, a pillar stone on the top. It is impossible to distinguish it from the sepulchral tumulus, except by an examination of its internal structure, as their external form and character are identical. The sepulchral moat is found of all dimensions, from the cistvaen of the single chief to the royal brugh or cemetery of a race of monarchs. The interior of tumuli of this class, when opened, is found to contain one or more sepulchral chambers, formed of unhewn stone, and connected by low, narrow passages, according to the number of chambers. The simplest form of this sepulchre is the rude cist, composed, as in the Kilmacleanan tumulus, of four or more large stones, set on edge, and forming the sides and ends, with one or more flat stones overlaying them, and forming the top or cover. Within this cist, or rude stone coffin, were placed the remains of the chief or hero, with his warlike weapons, his gold, silver, or bronze ornaments. The earth or stones were then heaped around and over all into a conical form.

That this was a favourite mode of interment among the Pagan Irish there is abundant evidence in our most ancient manuscripts, as, for example, in the extract from the celebrated *Leabhar-na-h'Uidre*, quoted by Petrie in his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*. It relates the death of Fothadh Airgthech, King of Ireland, who was slain by Cailte, the foster son of Finn MacCumhaill, in the battle of Ollarba, A.D. 285. Cailte, addressing Finn, describes the death of Fothadh, and identifies his sepulchre at Ollarba in the following words:—

"We were with thee, O Finn, said the youth. Hush, said Mongan (another name of the Fenian hero), that is not good (fair). We were with Finn once, said he; we went from Alba (Almhuin). We fought against Fothadh Airgthech here with thee at Ollarba. We fought a battle here. I made a shot at him. I drove my spear through him, so that the spear entered the earth at the other side of him, and its iron head was left buried in the earth. This is the very handle that was in that spear. The round stone from which I made that shot will be found, and east of it will be found the iron head of the spear buried in the earth, and the *uluidh* (carn) of Fothadh Avighthech will be found a short distance to the east of it. There is a chest of stone about him in the earth. There are his two rings of silver and his two *bunne doat* (bracelets), and his torque of silver on his breast; and there is a pillar stone at his carn, and an *ogumis* (inscribed) on the end of the pillar stone, which is in the earth, and what is in it is, 'Eochaidh Airgthech here.' It was Cailte that was here along with Finn. All these things were searched for by the youth who had arrived, and they were found."¹

In other examples the cists are of various dimensions: sometimes composed of enormous masses of stone, frequently with low narrow passages

¹ In his "Voyage of Bran," Professor Meyer gives a slightly different rendering of the above extract.—J.F.L.

formed of rough stone set on end, and covered with similar ones like lintels to bear the superincumbent earth. Some contain the bones of a single individual; in others are found the remains of children and adults, both male and female. Along with human remains are frequently found fragments of charcoal, implements of bronze, iron and stone, sometimes of gold and silver, articles of rude pottery, generally urns, glass, stone and earthenware, beads, pins, and combs of bone, all evidently deposited with the bodies at their interment. But by far the most extraordinary monuments of this class existing in Ireland are the great mounds of Dowth, Knowth and New Grange, which, with a vast number of moats, forts, raths, pillar-stones, &c., formed the great cemetery of Brugh na Boinne, the burial place of the Tuatha de Danaan race of Kings, which is admirably described in Wilde's *The Boyne and Blackwater*.

It is to be regretted that a vast number of these sepulchral tumuli have been destroyed and their contents scattered and lost, through the ignorance or avarice of individuals. It would be desirable if the Archæological Societies took more active steps to disseminate among our gentry and farmers the value and importance of monuments of this class, so that when their removal is unavoidable they may be instructed as to the necessity of having a competent person on the spot to investigate them. Our ancient annals and literature teem with references to the mighty dead, to their fields of conflict, to the spots where heroes and kings have fallen. With such lights in his path the antiquary cannot fail to succeed in his explorations."

When it was that the late Messrs. John Windele and Abraham Abell discovered the ancient cemetery at Ballymacus, described by the former in a paper under this heading in the *Kilkenny Journal* for 1852-3, published in 1855, Mr. Windele does not state. Ballymacus, he writes, lies on the seashore between the estuary of Oysterhaven and Kinsale Harbour, and within view of the Sovereign Islands. No tradition exists referable to the place, but its sepulchral character is preserved in the name of Parknakilla, the field of the graves, forming part of the townland. Neither is there any vestige or memory of any church or Christian cemetery. The field has been long used under tillage, and the discovery of the graves was merely accidental. We caused five of them to be opened; they were all formed alike, and contained similar remains. They were constructed of flagstones set edgewise, forming the sides and ends of oblong kists, varying in length from 5 to 5½ feet, in breadth about two feet, and in depth between 12 and 18 inches. From these proportions we conjectured that they were either the graves of females or of youths not grown up to manhood, or that the persons interred had not been laid out at full length. On examining them seriatim, few remains of mortality could be found, the larger portions of the skeletons having perished under the operation of time and moisture. Fragments of skulls and jaw-bones, with teeth quite sound, and portions of the bones of the lower extremities, so brittle as to be easily reduced to powder where only slight pressure was applied, were all that had survived the lapse of many centuries. We made close search for implements, utensils, weapons, beads, charcoal, &c., but were unable to find anything of this description. The flagstones were also examined for any traces of inscriptions, with a similar result. Nothing remained to tell the story of the tenants of these long-forgotten graves.

The whole had been covered over with rude flagstones, and they lay from north-west to south-east. I have from time to time seen in other places remains of similar sepulture, which may be denominated field burial, as at Oughtehery, in the parish of Aghina, west of Cork, adjoining an ancient circular pagan kiel or cemetery. Their upper outlines approach very near the surface of the soil. These, several in number, I did not myself examine, but the tenant of the farm, who accompanied and pointed them out to me, stated that he had opened many of them some years before, and finding nothing but skulls and bones, he closed them up again. In like manner at Cahirachladdig, in the same parish, seven or eight oblong kists were found some time since by a cottier tenant in his cabbage garden, but finding human remains he quickly covered them in, lest his family should take a dislike to the place. He also assured me he saw no relic of any kind in any of the graves. Again, at Knockagrogeen, on the road between Dingle and Smerwick, Co. Kerry, I was shown in 1848 several stone graves. But in a cemetery near Bray, containing similar graves, Roman coins were found, and in one near Mullingar, opened in 1748, were found urns and rings. In the absence of other evidence, we can only conjecture that this form of sepulture was purely pagan and of very high antiquity, and that, generally speaking, they were the graves of the middle and humbler classes; whilst the monolith, the cromleach, the carn, and the barrow marked the graves of the noble and the distinguished. I can hardly subscribe to the opinion that such graves indicate a battlefield. They are too carefully and systematically formed, and too few, even where most numerous, to appertain to such sites. Judging from the absence of cremation in the Ballymacus graves, we should incline to assign them a more remote date than those discovered at Mullingar, inasmuch as it is the received opinion of antiquaries that simple inhumation or burial of the body was the original and earliest, as it was the most natural, form of sepulture, and preceded the practice of burning by many ages. The latter usage was not known to the Hebrews, Persians, Egyptians, or Carthaginians till the time of Darius. Although burning was known to the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war, it was only introduced at Rome at a later period, but it went early out of fashion, and was superseded by inhumation burial in the 4th century. The use of the funereal pyre prevailed in Britain ages previous to the Roman invasion, and the Gauls practised cremation in Cæsar's time. Inhumation and burning marked each a distinct period in the history of Scandinavia. We have sufficient evidence, however, in Ireland from the examination of our tumuli, &c., that after the latter mode of interment had been introduced here both kinds of burial were practised coevally. The carn, the leacht, the dumha or mound continued still to mark the external form of the monument, no matter what the mode of disposal of the body may have been. Some of our historians allege that cremation had been abolished in Ireland by the monarch, Eochaidh, some centuries before the Christian era, but I suspect that this requires confirmation. The opinion which has also been advanced, that the practice, when adopted, was confined to the opulent and the distinguished, may have been better founded."

In the ancient Irish tales there is not, so far as I am aware (writes Rev. J. F. Lynch) a single reference to cremation, but from the vast number of cinerary urns which from time to time have been found in

Ireland we know that the pagan Irish sometimes disposed of the bodies of their dead in this way. Crofton Croker, in his article on Lough Gur, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in the year 1832, which has been reprinted in Gomme's *Extracts*, but without map, states that a few years previously an urn containing human ashes was found in the large stone grave (Leaba Dhiarmada agus Ghrainne) at foot of the hill of Keillalough, close to the margin of the lake, and not far from the stone circle on Knockadoon, where, in the year 1869, Mr. Robert Day, Professor Harkness, and Mr. John Fitzgerald discovered the curious skull and other bones which are stated by Borlase in *The Dolmens of Ireland* to be in the Museum, Queen's College, Cork. In a field now, as at that time, in the possession of Mr. John Hynes, and at north-east side of Lough Gur, Professor Harkness also discovered some cists containing human remains, and the bones were found lying so as to indicate that the bodies had been placed nearly in a north and south direction. Mr. Hynes has informed me that in some of these cists he found a few iron implements. In *Aghallamh na Senorach* the cemetery at Lough Gur is named Oenach Cuile Mna Nechatin and Old Oenach-Clochair, and in *Mesca Ulad* it is named Old Oenach-Clochair, but it is not correctly located by Hennessy, who adopted O'Curry's identification. It was one of the royal cemeteries of pagan Ireland, according to the *History of the Cemeteries* (Petrie's Round Towers) and O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, so that the modes of disposing of the bodies of the dead at the chief pagan cemetery of Munster were two—carnal interment and cremation—and these appear to have been practised at the same time and by the same race.

Mr. Alfred Nutt (*The Voyage of Bran*, ii., 238) says:—"It seems immaterial, therefore, to the present inquiry to examine the archæological evidence respecting the disposal of the dead in Ireland. As a matter of fact, the same perplexing duality of practice is to be found there as elsewhere in Europe, and notably in Greece (Cf. Cecil Smith, *Folklore*, December, 1892). The body is sometimes burned, sometimes buried; the two modes of disposal overlap each other in locality and in time. Indeed there are tombs in which remains of burnt skeletons are found in company with entire ones. Cf. Mr. George Coffey's *The Tumuli and Inscribed Stones at New Grange*. (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, November, 1892.)"

Cremation and carnal interment were also practised contemporaneously in the north of Europe, as proved from the monuments and witnessed by the Sagas. In the Volsunga Saga translated from the Icelandic by Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris, we read:—

"King Atli answered 'Naught true are thy words, nor will this our speech better the lot of either of us, for all is fallen now to naught; but now do to me in seemly wise, and array my dead corpse in noble fashion.'

"'Yea, that will I,' she says, 'and let make for thee a goodly grave, and build for thee a worthy abiding place of stone, and wrap thee in fair linen, and care for all that needful is.'

"So therewithal he died, and she did according to her word."

In the same book we read: "And now, I pray thee, Gunnar, one last boon. Let make a great bale on the plain meads for all of us—for me and for Sigurd, and for those who were slain with him, and let that be

covered over with cloth, dyed red by the folk of the Gauls, and burn me thereon on one side of the King of the Huns, and on the other these men of mine, two at the head and two at the feet, and two hawks withal . . . Now is the dead corpse of Sigurd arrayed in olden wise, and a mighty bale is raised, and when it was somewhat kindled there was laid thereon the dead corpse of Sigurd Fafnir's-bane, and his son of three winters, whom Brynhild had let slay, and Guttorm withal; and when the bale was all ablaze, thereunto was Brynhild borne out, when she had spoken with her bower maidens, and bid them take the gold that she would give; and then died Brynhild, and was burned there by the side of Sigurd, and thus their life-days ended."

Professor Maspero, with regard to the inhabitants of Chaldæa, says:—"Cremation seems in many cases to have been preferred to burial in a tomb. The funeral pile was constructed at some distance from the town, on a specially reserved area in the middle of the marshes. The body, wrapped up in coarse matting, was placed upon a heap of reeds and rushes, saturated with bitumen; a brick wall, coated with moist clay, was built around this to circumscribe the action of the flames, and the customary prayers having been recited, the pile was set on fire, masses of fresh material, together with the funerary furniture and usual viaticum, being added to the pyre . . . Bodies insufficiently burnt were interred in graves, or in public chapels; while the ashes of those fully cremated, together with the scraps of bones and the debris of the offerings, were placed in long urns." (*The Dawn of Civilization, Egypt and Chaldæa*, pp. 687-8).

Dr. Kuno Meyer (*The Battle of Ventry*, p. 86) has the following note:—"Ro claidheadh a feart, &c." This is the stereotyped close of most of the tales called Aideda. It is generally added that the name of the deceased or some sort of inscription in Ogam characters was written on the stone. Cf. l. 500 and Aided Cl. L., p. 68: agus do hadhlaadh clanna Lir agus do toghbhadh a lia os a leacht agus do scriobhadh a n-anmanna oghaim agus do fearadh a g-cluiche caointe. LL., p. 258b: ro claided uag do Fheirb iar sin ocus do tocbad a lia ocus ro scribad ainm oguim ocus dorigned duma immon licc. "A grave was dug for Ferb, and her stone was raised, and an inscription in Ogam was written, and a mound was made around the stone." Ainm in such connections does not necessarily mean "name," but "inscription" generally. This is evident from such passages as LL., p. 66a; id niachais, e side ocus ainm n-ogaim 'na menoc ocus is e ainm boi; and: Gipe tised, &c. "And this is the inscription that was on it: 'Whoever shall come, &c.'" The usual mode of burial with the ancient Irish seems to have consisted in a grave (fert or uag) being dug, in which the corpse was put (if he had been slain in battle, with the face towards the enemy; Cf. Jubainville, Introduction, p. 179), and a stone (lia) being placed above it. Thus Derbfhogairil is buried, LL., p. 125b: ro lad a fert ocus al lia la Coinculaind. LL., p. 106b: focherte a fhert ocus a lecht ocus a lie. LL., p. 15b: ro class a fhert ocus satir a lia. LL., p. 30b: ataat di chloich and, i lecht Con indala n-ai ocus lecht Cathin alaile. OSS., i., i.: lia uas lecht. Conchobur was buried on the spot where he had died, and a stone pillar was placed at his head and at his feet. LL., p. 124a: ata a lige, and baile i torchair ocus corthe fria chend ocus corthe fria chossa. Over the grave-stone was then sometimes raised the duma or mound, as in the passage from the Tochmarc

Feirbe, quoted above. In LU, p. 38b, 4, fifty men and women are buried beneath one duma. A treduma, or triple mound, is mentioned by Petrie, *Tara*, p. 117.

The Rev. J. F. Lynch has further supplied the following very interesting particulars bearing on this subject from Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 12-13:—In the barony of Barrymore and the townland of Knockanna Corrin, and parish of Rathcormack, at the E. end of the Nagles Mountains, in Ord. Sur. Map No. 44, although not marked by name in the map, is the dolmen cairn called Carn Thierna. In Lewis's *Top. Dict.* (s.v. Castlelyons) it is stated to be on the borders of the parishes of Castlelyons, Fermoy and Rathcormack, the point of junction of which is in Ord. Sur. Map No. 35 of Knockanna Corran. The same authority (s.v. Rathcormack) indicates the exact site as follows:—"The eastern extremity of the Nagles Mountains, about three miles north of Rathcormack, is very lofty, and appears as if it had been cut down vertically from the summit to the base; on its highest point is a large conical pile of stone called Carn Thierna, the lord's cairn." "It was used," adds Smith, "for the purpose of elections and assemblies." Windele mentions "four tumuli all seated on the highest points" of this range of hills. Carn (i.e., Corran) Thierna is, he says, on the E. extremity. The first and westernmost cairn of the series is on Maolan Mountain, "the Mole of Spenser, who resided at Renny, just at the foot of it." The second is at Carn (? Corran, in the parish of Monanimy in Ord. Sur. Map. No. 34). To the N.E. of this, which, counting Carn Thierna as the third, is the centre one of the three, in the townland of Ballydague, parish of Kilcummer, and barony of Fermoy, is the fourth and last cairn, called, like the others, a leacht by Windele, and named Sighean na mna finne. It is marked Seethaunamnafinne in Ord. Sur. Map No. 34. The cist found in Carn Thierna seems to have been of such dimensions as to justify its classification as a dolmen in a cairn. The Editor of Lewis's *Top. Dict.* (s.v. Castlelyons) says:—"On the confines of this parish of Castlelyons, and those of Fermoy and Rathcormack, is the mountain Corran Tierna, or carn hill, a remarkable eminence, on the summit of which were discovered, after removing an immense heap of stones under large flagstone, two antique urns, containing ashes. One was broken by the workmen to ascertain whether it contained money; the other is in possession of the Rev. J. B. Ryder, and is nearly globular, neatly marked, and has apparently been baked." Windele, in his MSS., says:—"In 1834, after the removal of several hundred tons of stone, constituting one of the cairns on the summit of this mountain, a chamber was discovered, formed of rude flags. In this was found the fragment of an urn. In an adjoining chamber another urn was found containing a small quantity of ashes on April 6th, 1837. Abraham Abell showed me this urn, of which I (J. Windele) took a drawing. The following was the measurement:—Height, 5½ inches, diameter at top, 5½ inches; breadth at base, 3 inches; thickness, 3-16ths of an inch. It was of a pale reddish colour of unbaked (?) clay, and rudely carved with lozenges, &c. It had a conical sort of cap." Mr. Windele subsequently made an engraving of this on stone, a copy of which is amongst his MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

Proceedings of the Society.

A general meeting of the Society was held on Friday evening, 15th May, at the Cork Library, Pembroke Street.

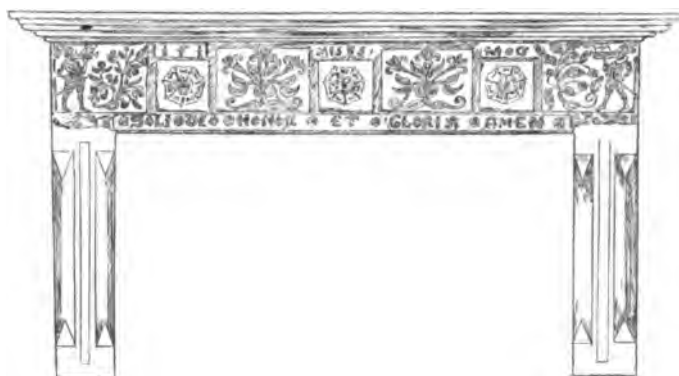
On the motion of Mr. C. G. Doran, seconded by Mr. J. P. Dalton, Mr. T. H. Mahony was elected Council Member.

Subsequently a lecture on "Remnants of Olde Corke" was delivered by Mr. M. Holland.

Mr. Robert Day, J.P., F.S.A., presided, and there were also present—Messrs. James Coleman, Hon. Sec.; Thomas Farrington, J.P., Hon. Treasurer; C. G. Doran, T. H. Mahony, J. P. Dalton, W. B. Lacy, K. D. Roche, J. B. Kenefick, M. J. Lavallin, John Gilbert, W. Clarke, D. Franklin, C. Cremen, Mrs. Christie, Miss Christie, Miss Kenefick, Mrs. and Miss Holland, &c.

Mr. Holland, in the course of his address, referred to the relationship of art with archæology, as the preservation of works of art affords vital evidence for the promotion of history. Episodes of social and political interest depicted by contemporary artists are valuable materials for continuing the study of mankind and progress. Around these we have to weave our ideas of what men were, compare with them what men are, and guide us as to what men may be. A celebrated Spanish historian declared that the drawings of Daniel Vierge in illustrating Don Pablo de Segovia proved the artist to be a better historian than he. The fragments of monastic and civic buildings in Cork were of great interest on account of their excellent workmanship and history. Its old silver, old glass, old pictures, songs, and books of the past centuries invested the simple phrase, "Olde Corke" with special veneration. The lecturer proceeded with a short story of the founding of the city to its occupation by the Danes, by whom the walls were built. Later, its establishment as a Cathedral city, one of its earliest bishops being Gilla Aeda O Mugin, from whom Gill Abbey takes its name. Details of political occurrences in the 15th century showed that the residents of Cork took active part in the struggles of the period. Two maps of Cork, showing its extent and fortifications in the 16th century, were shown, with descriptions of the social life of the period, reference being made to the destruction of the town cross, which forms so important a landmark in other towns and cities. The capitulation of the city in 1690 to the Duke of Marlborough, however, did not appear from history so far available to be very creditable to either side. Henceforward the walls and fortifications began to disappear, the city began extending east and west, and absorbing the villages and monastic buildings north and south, until 1750, when the city assumed something of the appearance it has to-day. Views of the city at this period were shown, also plan showing the extent of its growth outside the old walls. Some details of the life of the city at this time were given—a memorial being prepared to oppose the construction of a bridge over the Lee, as it would be of the utmost ill-consequence to the city, the bridge in question being old St. Patrick's bridge. The following advertisement appeared in a local journal:—"At the Cock Pit Royal, on Monday, 20th (1763), will begin the fighting of a grand main of cocks, which will be continued for a week, for five guineas a battle, and 500 in the main." About a year later we read—"The Cock Pit is at last turned to some useful account, as to-morrow will be read at the Cock Pit the lecture on hydraulics, illustrated by working models, all kinds of pumps, bucket

engines, water engines, mills, fire engines, &c. Admittance, half-a-crown. A lecture on an interesting branch of philosophy will be read at one o'clock every day this week." This was probably the first series of public lectures delivered in Cork. Interesting views of early monastic buildings were shown to illustrate development in architecture. Old North Gate and South Gate, from drawings by Grogan, in 1796; the Exchange, fragments of Shandon Abbey, the old city wall, chimney pieces from the Franciscan Abbey, Skiddy's Castle, old house in Cove street, and Christchurch lane, &c. An interesting sketch of the old city arms carved in stone, and at present inserted into the hall of the Police Court, was shown, which has the following interesting history:—In the "Gentleman's Magazine," September, 1827, occurs the following note:—"A house in the North Main street, Cork, No. 109, is known by tradition as the old Custom House of Cork. Some public building it doubtless was in the olden time, for though a coat of dashing had modernised its front, all the rear exhibits by its massive walls, arches and stone window carvings, solid demonstration of

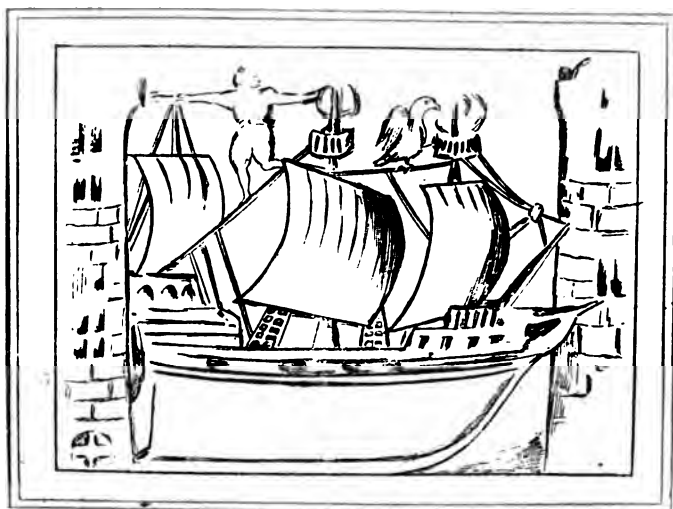


CHIMNEYPIECE FORMERLY IN CHRIST CHURCH LANE,
DATED 1585.

(Drawn by M. Holland.)

great antiquity. Being lately under repair, Mr. Sainthill was induced to make inquiries respecting the old arms of the city, which are boldly cut on a large thick block of limestone, and are in high preservation. They consist, as at present, of a ship between two castles, but the former lying broadside instead of in perspective, as latterly; the only difference is, there being an eagle and a sailor in the rigging. Whether these last really belong to the armorial bearings or were the whim of the carver will possibly be ascertained by a reference to the Heralds' College at London and Dublin. The sailor wears the trunk breeches of Henry the Eighth's reign, and the form of the ship critically answers with one in a drawing of Plymouth Harbour in the time of Henry the Eighth. On the bracket supporting the stone are letters, I.H.S., which would scarcely have been used at a much later period. The Mayor of Cork has directed the stone to be inserted in the wall of his office at the Mansion House. It is reasonable to assume that the figures have some purpose. The arms of many English towns are pictorial puns on the names or some fanciful device relating to local legend, but it is not necessary to go so far for a reasonable suggestion. By the charter of the 15th year of Edward IV. the franchise of the city extended "as far as the shorepoint, or strand, called Rewrawne, on the western part of the said

port, and as far as to the shorepoint, or strand, called Renowdran, on the eastern part of the said port . . and in all towns, pills, creeks, burghs, and strands in and to which the sea ebbs and flows in length and breadth within the aforesaid two points, Rewrawne and Renowdran." Mr. Coleman says these two points cannot now be identified, but, as Gibson concludes, were doubtless outside the harbour's mouth east and west, where the Mayor of Cork now throws the dart. "A city thus conservative of its rights," Mr. Coleman continues, "and whose inhabitants furthermore had such a strong admixture of Danish blood in their veins, would naturally not lose sight of a custom handed down from their Danish ancestors, whose observance, moreover, served to maintain these rights, as in the case of the throwing of the dart." Now, can this figure be emblematical of the throwing of the dart and exercising control over the waters outside the harbour and between the two towers—with the further device of an eagle to denote supremacy? The lecturer concluded by alluding to the activity in



CITY ARMS CARVED IN STONE IN HALL OF POLICE COURT.

(Drawn by M. Holland.)

literary and artistic matters in Cork up to the middle of last century, and appealed for a better appreciation on the part of the public of to-day.

Mr. Farrington, in proposing a vote of thanks, referred to the opening of the museum at the Shrubberies House, and stated that the Corporation had very generously accorded them every facility with regard to its establishment. He had no doubt that when furnished it would be of great interest and benefit.

Mr. T. H. Mahony seconded.

The President, in conveying the thanks of the meeting, gave an interesting description of some gold ornaments illustrated by the lecturer, and stated that an excellent bust of Father Prout by the late Richard Barter was at present at the School of Art, which showed that he was not altogether forgotten.

Mr. Holland, in reply, said he hoped the day would come when bronze busts and other memorials of the artists and writers who made the name of Cork famous, would be erected in Fitzgerald Park, to enhance its beauty and honour Cork's sons of distinction and fame.

Notes and Queries.

Sir William Homan, Bart.¹—I am indebted to Mr. George Cotter Beale for the following memoir, which was written by the late Mr. Robert Lecky, C.E., of Cork, afterwards of London, who was a valued contributor to our Journal and a foundation member of our Society:—

"Sir William Homan, Bart., lived at . . . on the Blackwater, a few miles above Youghal, and was a fine old gentleman, over 80 years of age, when in 1846 I repaired the wooden bridge which crossed the Blackwater at Reencrew. He was then Chairman of the County Bridge Committee, and came pretty regularly to the Board meetings. The story of his marriage and life was a curious example of the way things were arranged in old times. Wm. Homan was a remarkably fine-looking young man, living in Scotland, and near to the Marquis of Bute's residence. He became acquainted with the Marquis's daughter, and a mutual regard sprung up between them, which soon ripened into love, and they determined to be married, but how this was to be accomplished was the desideratum. They evidently were persons of great moral courage, for notwithstanding the great disparity in social position, and the danger of discovery, they determined to have an ordinary public marriage in the plainest fashion—so they were regularly called in church as "Wm. Homan and Mary Stewart," in the very parish church at which the Marquis's family attended, and as the lady's name was a common one in the neighbourhood, and Wm. Homan a person of insignificant standing, the event passed unnoticed, and they were duly married. When the matter came out, the Marquis was, of course, much displeased, but he was a sensible man, and on inquiry found out that Wm. Homan was a well-educated person and very respectable in his circle, but as his family lived in the neighbourhood he could not allow his daughter to reside there, too. So he had influence enough with Government to get a Baronetcy for his son-in-law and purchase the estate near Youghal, where they settled down very happily, living to a good round age."

¹ This family is now represented by — Homan, bart., of Dunlum, Co. Westmeath.

Arms—Vert, a chevron or, between three pheons, points downward, ar.

Crest—A lion's head erased, or, on the head a chapeau gu. turned up ermine.—Burke's "General Armory," 1878.

ROBERT DAY.

Memorial to William Maginn, LL.D.—A project for providing a suitable memorial to this distinguished Corkman has been started. The object of it is to erect a handsome Celtic cross over his grave in the churchyard of Walton-on-Thames; also to place a stained memorial in the church there, and an inscribed marble tablet on the house in Marlboro' Street, Cork, where he was born.

A Committee, with power to add to their number, has been formed to carry out all this. The names already on it are:—The Right Rev. Dr. Dowden, Lord Bishop of Edinburgh; Robert Day, J.P., F.S.A., M.R.I.A.; Arthur Perceval Graves, Major G. B. O'Connor, F.R.Hist.Soc.; Colonel Grove White, M.R.S.A.; James Coleman, M.R.S.A., Hon. Sec. C. H. and A. Soc.; James Buckley, M.R.S.A.; Miss Nellie Mahony, Francis Maginn, Courtenay Moore, Canon, M.A., V.P.R.S.A.I. Some subscriptions have already been received, and more are now asked for. Professor Dowden writes: "I think it lamentable that Maginn's grave is without a headstone." Mr. Francis Maginn, 12 Wilmot Terrace, Lisburn Road, Belfast, will act as Treasurer to the fund.



ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM PENN, KNT.
*(From the original Portrait by Sir Peter Lely in the
 Gallery of Greenwich Hospital.)*



WILLIAM PENN.
 The Founder of Pennsylvania.

Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society.

Admiral Penn, William Penn, and their Descendants in the Co. Cork.



THAT the famous Quaker, William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, one of the original States of the American Union, adopted the tenets of the Society of Friends whilst on a brief visit to the County of Cork, is a fact familiar to those who possess any real knowledge of Cork's past history; but there are other interesting ties and associations linking the Penns with our county that are now little known or remembered. These it is the aim of the present paper to recall, and as far as possible to record in a connected form.

Though our local historians, the late Messrs. Windele and John George MacCarthy, tell the story of young William Penn's conversion to Quakerism in Cork—an event that had considerable bearing on the destiny of what subsequently became the United States of America, if not on that of England—these writers relate little else in regard to the Penns' connection with the Co. Cork. But as MacCarthy's *Cork* has now become almost as scarce as Windele's much earlier and more extensive work, it will doubtless prove new to many readers of the *Journal*, what the former author has so graphically written relative to William Penn and his father, Admiral Penn, as here reproduced in full:—

"In his distribution of forfeited properties, Cromwell was not unmindful of his personal friends. Amongst those was Admiral William Penn. In 1654, Cromwell wrote to Ireland to direct that the Admiral should have lands to the value of £300 a year in the Co. Cork, near some fortified place. The place selected was that same Castle and Manor of Macroom which Broghill (son of the Earl of Cork) had seized for the Commonwealth. The Admiral got them, and lived at Macroom for some years. But the Castle and Manor of Macroom happened to be the property of the Royalist General MacCarthy, Lord Muskerry. On the accession of Charles II., MacCarthy, more fortunate than most other Irish Royalists of the time, got back his titles and most of his lands—amongst others, those which Cromwell had given Penn. As an equivalent, Penn got the castle and lands of Shanagarry, near Cloyne. I believe his descendants still possess these lands.

"In 1667 the Admiral, being living in London, sent his son, William, then in his 24th year, and an attaché to the Viceregal Court, to take charge of his Irish estate. Young William Penn accordingly lived in the city of Cork two or three years. It is a pleasing confirmation of his mild and

soldiers as my lord should send on board him for the relief of the said besieged town of Youghall. My lord also requested me to furnish the town with what ammunition I could possibly spare.

"About four of the clock we saw Captain Claxton open off the harbour's mouth, who came then from Youghall, bringing with him the Ladies Broghill, Barrymore, the Lady Smith,² and many other women of quality, together with their children and the best of their household stuff. My lord went on board Claxton. His lordship and Sir William Fenton,³ who came then from Youghall, took the ladies up to Cork in my pinnace, having the barge to bring up as many as conveniently she could.

"6th. No business; not a boat stirring, but one or two that returned from Cork after the carrying up of my lord, &c. At eight in the evening we weighed and plyed for Kinsale. As we were weighing came in a boat from Youghall, by which we had news, that yesterday the town sallied out twice upon the enemy, and that at the last sally had slain 300 upon the place, which caused the rebels to raise their close siege and to sit down about three miles distant from the town.

"7th. Came to an anchor in the outward Cove of Kinsale. I immediately went on shore to speak with the Governor about the soldiers. The *Duncannon* frigate being already dispatched by the carpenters, I ordered the 100 soldiers to be put on board of her and another small vessel which was being assigned for Youghall.

"8th. We were under sail by six in the morning. About five in the afternoon we came to anchor in the Bay of Youghall, where we found Capt. Phillips, who that morning had landed the soldiers that were shipped on board him by my lord for the strengthening of that town. Capt. Boyle, one of the commanders of the town, came on board of me, and told me the condition the town was in. Capt. Bray and Capt. Hewett did ride before the town, as was adjudged most convenient.

"9th. In the morning I went ashore and dined with the Governor and Sir Percy Smith. I told him the cause of my coming, which was to assist him in what I might. He presently desired me to order the *Nicholas* to ride at the south end of the town and the *Duncannon* at the north end, that they might play upon the enemy with their great guns, if they should fall (as was much expected and feared) on either end of the town. This I consented to, though unwillingly, and ordered them to ride at these places, but to have a special care of their ships. At five in the afternoon I came from the shore. The Governor gave me five guns.⁴ I answered three in the barge. At the firing of the last gun, the piece not being well sponged, took fire, as one of our men was ramming home the cartridge, and so unhappily blew off one of his hands.

"10th. Sir Percy Smith, Governor of Youghall, with four of his field officers, coming on board our ship, took Captain Phillips in the way. I took our pinnace and went unto them. We all came on board our ship, and

² Lady Broghill was the daughter-in-law of the first Earl of Cork; Lady Barrymore was his daughter, the widow of the first Earl of Barrymore, who died Sept. 2nd, 1642; and Lady Smith was the wife of Sir Percy Smith, Knight, Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Governor of Youghall, whose mother was sister of the Earl of Cork.

³ Sir William Fenton, Kt., of Michaelstown (Mitchelstown) was the son of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of State and Privy Councillor in Ireland, and brother of Catherine, Countess of Cork, second wife of the first Earl and mother of Lord Broghill.

⁴ As a salute, presumably.



MACROOM CASTLE, CO. CORK.



SHANAGARRY CASTLE.
(Photo by Rev. J. O'Riordan.)

there they dined with me. After dinner Sir Percy gave me a letter, wherein we were specified the particulars of their several wants of ammunition, as also to have the barge to do them service. I answered him for the present that I could do nothing of myself, nor was I able to furnish him so as I desired myself; I would, therefore, consult with the rest of the squadron, and so make return to him.

"11th. I called a council of war. The commanders being come on board, I showed them Sir Percy Smith's letter, as also another from my Lord of Inchiquin to the same purpose. We consulted, and at last agreed to spare them out of each of our stores what proportion of ammunition we could, as also our barge, as appeareth by our joint subscription, bearing the date *stantis*.

"12th. In the morning I sent my lieutenant on shore with a letter to Sir Percy Smith, to tell him that the enemy had removed their forces, which they in the town could not discover so well as we, being close besieged. Afternoon my lieutenant returned from the shore, and came on board Captain Phillips, where I was, Captain Boyle being with him, who informed me it was the Governor's request that one barge might be spared to carry him up to Cork, he having letters from the Governor to my Lord Inchiquin. I caused Captain Phillips to send up ten of his men with twelve of mine, and so Captain Boyle and our purser went up in the barge to Cork about six in the afternoon. This remove of the enemy caused me to retain the ammunition we agreed to spare as yet on board, lest the rebels should fall upon some other place that might have as much, if not more, occasion to use it.

"13th, Sunday. I received a letter from the Governor, whereby I understood that the rogues were yet within two miles of the town with their whole army, which was as bad, if not worse, than if they had begirt the town. He desired me not to depart the road until I heard further from my Lord of Inchiquin, the boat which brought my last being rebound to him with letters from Sir Percy. I willingly consented, not intending to quit this place till I should see them (by God's goodness) better able to shift for themselves. Some of the enemy's horse appeared on the east side within the harbour, at whom Captain Bray and Captain Howett made some shot, but did no execution, as we perceived.

"14th. After dinner I went on shore, and there received a letter from my Lord Inchiquin, whereby he desired that if so be the enemy had raised their siege, I should immediately cause the 200 men which came from Kinsale and Bandon Bridge to be transported to Kinsale again, and then expect further orders from his lordship. Sir Percy also received a letter from him, declaring his intent to fall upon the enemy's quarters the next morning by break of day; and therefore desired him to issue out of the town all the musqueteers he could well spare; that so, if it pleased God he should put them all to rout, they might be able to pursue. Sir Percy acquainting me with the design, I was willing to add my endeavours for the furtherance thereof, and therefore willed him to send out what he thought fitting, and I would that night send on shore a 100 able men to keep the town, which was accordingly performed; every man, with his musquet, bandaleers, &c., to that number marched into the town for the guard thereof. But my lord came not as was expected.

"15th. In the morning Capt. Boyle returned from Cork, by whom

I had a letter from my lord, and acted according to the tenour thereof. About ten I went on shore, and perceiving the late intended design did not go forward, I commanded the seamen on board their several ships, the Governor being willing to discharge them.

"16th. About eight in the morning the barge went on shore, and carried all the ammunition formerly agreed upon by a council of war, the powder only excepted. At ten the *Charles*, my Lord of Inchiquin's frigate, came by us. I sent one pinnace on board of her, and coming from Milford Haven, brought me a letter from my Admiral, whereby he acquainted me of 24 barrels of powder, 2 packs match, 1,000 lbs. small shot, sent by the said *Charles* to my Lord President; the frigate never anchored here, but plied away for Cork. As I was going on shore to Sir Percy Smith, I called on board of Captain Bray to know the reason of his shooting in the morning; and being on board his ship, we espied some men digging almost on the top of a hill, as if they would there make some work and plant great guns to beat the shipping out of the harbour. But having viewed it well, we considered it could not any whit annoy us, or do them any good. Many poor people going out this morning to cut grass for their cattle were killed or wounded by the rebels. After dinner the Governor and I went into the fort, and caused some shot to be made at the rebels working on the hill at the eastern side; but seeing it was but vain expense of powder, they being without the carrying of our guns point blank, gave them over.

"17th. By break of day the enemy had made a fort of cannon-baskets on the east side, opposite to the town fort, and having drawn down three guns into their work, shot at the *Duncannon* frigate, she at them again; but by an unexpected accident (as we after were informed) the powder of their store took fire, which being blown up, she immediately sunk, and being but little more water than she drew, her stern was above water when her bilge lay on the ground. All those which were afore the mast suffered, in number 18, with one woman, she with two of the 18 being, as was reported, in the powder room when the powder took fire. Seven more of the company were very much scalded and bruised, but, God be praised! we have hope of their recovery.

"About ten of the clock I went with Captain Phillips on shore, and dined with the Governor. Afternoon word was brought the Governor that two of the enemy's boats were coming down the river, as was supposed, full of provisions of ammunition for the enemy on the eastern side. I being at that time with the Governor, immediately caused our barge to pursue them, but ere our barge could come near to fetch them up, they were on shore, where our men durst not go, the enemy having a party of men on the shore side ready to secure them. The Governor, myself, Lieut.-Colonel Loftus, Lieut.-Colonel Badnedge, with some others, were upon the wall, taking upon us to view the pursuit of the barge; the enemy made a most unhappy shot from their fort on the other side of the water, which killed the two lieut.-colonels and two soldiers; five others were carried away supposed to be dead, but were presently found indifferent well, having no great hurt. Only the Governor and myself escaped unhurt, but with the stones which flew thick about our ears, for which deliverance God make me ever thankful. We quit the fort, and went into a house hard by. I requested Sir Percy Smith to dispatch a messenger with this sad news to

my Lord of Inchiquin, as also for some other officers in the room of those gentlemen that were slain, which he did the same night.

"In the afternoon the *Duncannon's* men that were scalded and hurt were brought on board our ship. I gave orders to Captain Howett to speak to his men to endeavour the saving of such sails and rigging as were not burnt; also that the gunner would get as many guns out of her as he could come at on the starboard side, she heeling to port, and her guns on that side being all under water. For that purpose I had taken order that Captain Bray's carpenters should be assisted by cutting her ports wider, that her guns might be the easier gained. But the *Duncannon's* men answered that they had already lost all they had in her, and would not now hazard the loss of their lives also; the enemy's work being so near, and they having no shelter for themselves if the enemy should ply them with caseshot, as might be in all probability. Captain Howett, whom I employed in this business, is best able to render an account hereof.

"18th. In the morning I sent the barge on shore to assist the *Duncannon's* men to save what might be, without any eminent (sic) or apparent danger, procured out of her, but their answer was as before. After dinner I sent the barge on to Captain Bray, for fear the enemy bringing guns to the point, as we supposed, to beat him out of the harbour; he should not have a boat on board to carry out an anchor if such occasion were.

"19th. In the morning by break of day the enemy had planted guns on the eastward point of the harbour's mouth, and made divers shot therewith at Captain Bray, he at them again; but before he could get his anchors on board two of his men were killed and two hurt by the rogues, who shot her between wind and water, and several times in the hull. At last weighed, set sail, and coming forth, anchored by us.

"About nine, the barge carried the twenty barrels of powder (allotted by a council of war, the 11th present, for the town of Youghall) on shore, and took a receipt of the Governor for them, which I received; with a letter also from him, desiring to take notice, that when he had occasion to speak with us, or have any recourse to us, the signal should be a fire on the top of the abbey tower, near the point on the west side of the harbour's mouth. About three, afternoon, the *Charles*, my lord president's frigate, returned from Cork, and anchored by us, having on board her the powder, bullets, and match that was sent by my admiral from Milford unto my lord, who ordered it for this town. About five, a small vessel arrived from Cork, with beef and bread sent by our purser for us; the master of the vessel told us that three days since my lord took 500 head of cattle and other provisions from the rebels, and killed a hundred of those that were to conduct it to the camp before Youghall. At nine came in a small vessel from Cork, and brought three letters from my lord: one for Sir Percy, another for my admiral, and the third for myself.

"22nd. At one Captain Claxton came open of the bay, but anchored not, being bound for London. I sent a letter by him to the Right Hon. the Committee for the Admiralty, enclosed in one for Mr. Jessop.

"26th. In the morning I received a letter from the Governor, wherein he desired that six of our gunners might be sent on shore. I caused two of each ship to be sent, with a week's provision, and gave our two money to drink. A letter came to me from Mr. John Miller, major (mayor)

of the town of Youghall; I answered his and the Governor's, and sent another to Lieut.-Colonel Finch concerning some goods belonging to Lieut.-Colonel Loftus, lately slain.

"28th. In the morning I wrote unto Captain Phillips, as before to Captain Bray, for what minion or falcon shot he could spare, together with paper royal; who sent me 20 falcon shot and one quire of paper. I spared 30 sacre shot and of paper one quire, being all the paper the Governor had left. Having these things in a readiness, I durst not send them, discovering three bodies of the enemy's forces upon the hills near the town. In the afternoon I went on board Captain Phillips, and stayed supper with him; about eight I came on board of our own ship again, and half an hour after the watch was set, we espied a light upon the tower (St. Mary's) according to the signal given by Sir Percy Smith; and, not long after, another. I sent our yawl ashore, and with her 30 sacre, 30 minion, 20 falcon shot, and two quires of paper, with a letter to the Governor.

"29th. In the morning, about four of the clock, we espied a boat between the isle (Capel Island) and the main, which not coming to speak with us, we shot at; the enemy made three or four shot at her also. I sent out our pinnace to meet with her; but she bore up and came on board, being laden with pilchards, bound in for Youghall to deliver some of them there, but the wind being NNW. out of the harbour she could not get in. I took in so many as filled seven hogsheads, preserving them with salt I had of mine own, knowing the necessity of the town for want of provisions. About ten at night a fire was made as a signal for our boat to go on shore; but it being a very light night, and the enemy having lined the shore on both sides with musqueteers, besides their great guns, with a boat lying at the harbour's mouth, rowing with eighteen oars, and we not having any boat convenient (our yawl being then on shore), I durst not adventure to send any.

"30th. About seven in the morning, our barge endeavouring to get ashore, was hindered by the enemy's approach to the western point of the harbour's mouth, and so was forced to retire on board again. At ten in the morning came in a vessel from Cork with beef and bread for us. Our yawl coming out of the harbour, the enemy's boat chased her; we sent out our barge to her relief; the enemy made many great and small shot at her from both sides of the harbour's mouth; but God be praised! she came on board without any harm. She brought me a letter from the Governor, with a packet to my Lord Inchiquin, which I hasted away by the master of the vessel that brought us our provisions, with a letter of my own to his lordship. About three in the afternoon I sent some oils for medicaments the Governor wrote for, with 20 falcon shot, and a letter in the yawl, ordering the barge, for the more safety, to go along with her. But drawing near the shore the enemy plied them very thick with great and small shot, and their boat ready in the harbour to surprise them, they durst not attempt the going in, but returned on board again. There were also some letters from the Lord President to the Governor, which I sent by the yawl, and would gladly have had delivered, but it could not be. Yet I returned not those letters back to my lord, in hope we should be able ere long to work our passage. I sent Captain Phillips his pinnace to cause our barge (then coming on board) to make

for the western side of the harbour, to intercept three boats of the enemy's which were making thitherward, but the barge came too late. The enemy plied the town very hard this afternoon and all night. I ordered our barge and pinnace to guard the westward side of the harbour, and Captain Phillips's long-boat and pinnace the eastward; gave them a word and signal to know each other at a distance, charging them to be assistant to each other in what they might.

"31st. In the morning, the boats returned early from watch; but in regard I saw so many of the enemy's boats abroad, I caused our boats to be manned with a fresh crew, and sent them out again about noon. Two of the boats belonging to the enemy gave chase to Captain Phillips's long-boat, his pinnace and mine being then on board; and the barge being far to the westward, like to be engaged, we dispatched our pinnace for her relief, which the enemy seeing, they immediately retreated. Some shot were made the whole day between our boats and the enemy by the seaside, without any visible or apparent detriment on either side. This night, about ten, and to all night, the enemy and the town were at hot service.

"August 1st. In the morning, early, the boats came from watching. I sent a fresh crew in them, having continued all day abroad scouting to and again; many shot passing between them and the shore, but not a boat of the enemy's stirring. About seven they came on board; I caused them to be new manned, and, after the watch was set, sent them away to scour up and down, looking for the enemy's boats, and so to spend the whole night. The enemy made not many shot at the town this day.

"2nd. The boats, having spent the night in coasting and watching for the boats which belong to the enemy, came this morning early on board; which, with a fresh gang, I sent away again. At ten, Captain Bray arrived here from Cork, and anchored by us; he brought some provisions for the town sent by my lord; the particulars I have in a note by itself, but we cannot as yet with safety adventure it in. Very few shot either from the town or rebels this day save some great guns in the morning. Our men being almost quite tired with continual watchings in the boats, both night and day, and the rebels not daring to send a boat out, I kept ours on board this night.

"3rd, Sunday. About one in the morning the barge came from Cork, which brought me four letters from my lord president. At two, I sent our boats again to coast along the shore, but seeing none of the enemy's boats to stir, about nine they came on board again. At ten, I dispatched away a letter to my lord by our barge.

"4th. About one, afternoon, the *Charles* frigate came to an anchor here. She brought provisions for the town, which we took in. Not long after the soldier being close besieged within the town, and we able to do him no good without, nor at present to gain so much as intelligence of their condition, it was unanimously agreed upon, for the soldiers' encouragement, as if some extraordinary news were now arrived to us, to fire some guns on board each ship. Whereupon we shot seven, the *Mayflower* and *Nicholas* five a piece.

"To Captain Swanley, Admiral of the Irish seas.⁵

"Sir—I profess in the presence of Almighty God, who knows the secrets

⁵ This letter would appear to have been written on the 4th of August, 1645, shortly

of all hearts, I have been as industrious, both night and day, for the advantage of this place, as might be imagined; yea, more than was by my Lord of Inchiquin and the Governor expected, as by divers expressions in sundry letters, they have manifested. But now the enemy hath quite blocked up the harbour, having planted great guns, whereof they have store (from whom God knows); so that we cannot pass in or out to relieve the distressed place, nor gain any intelligence from it; but if God give a blessing to it we are now upon a design to effect, and make no question of compassing it. I confess it is somewhat desperate, yet I know a desperate disease requires desperate cure.

"Sir, it is my most earnest desire to hear from you with all speed, having sent this frigate for that purpose; as also to receive such convenient supplies as may be made, both victualling and ammunition; or else a speedy order to quit this place, which cannot, without great hazard, yet be done. One of the two must in all celerity be performed, for I have not a fortnight's provision on board. The enemy is very careful to take all advantages; and God be praised! the party in the town is as careful to give as few as possibly may be. The great guns have for this four or five days plied it hard on both sides. They have had six of our gunners on shore about this work, with whose help (I giving directions) they have recovered two of the best guns out of the *Duncannon*, which I have sent, and 142 shot, into the town, to the shame of the *Duncannon's* men be it spoken. Nor yet are all the *Duncannon's* men to blame; the captain and master, having been very active, are much deserving.

"I desire your pardon if once more I urge speed in your dispatch; such important consequences as these admit not of the least delay, without eminent and apparent danger. Therefore pray, Sir, take advantage of the first opportunity (if there be no supply from England) to order me one way or other, as you in your wisdom shall conceive most conducing to the public good of the state, and the particular of this place.

"For the design of the relief of the town, Captain Clarke will be able to give you an account, viva voce. We have taken occasion by his coming to discharge some guns out of policy, as if he had been the messenger of some good tidings; thereby to hearten the town (if God see good); and to abate the courage of the enemy, for suppressing of whose boats we have our boats abroad, night and day; which calls for a necessary expense both of match and powder, and I desire it may be taken into serious consideration, as also a return may be made by Captain Clarke for the fortnight's provision the *Duncannon's* men have had.

"Sir, I am loth to be tedious, considering yours, as mine own affairs, may call you aside; yet I beseech you to take some thought for my supply, and that with great haste; for which, as for the favours formerly received, I do, and shall ever acknowledge myself, engaged; and craving pardon for the importunity, I take leave to be, Honoured Sir, your humble servant to be commanded,

WILLIAM PENN."

after which time Lord Castlehaven abandoned the siege of Youghal, in consequence, he states in his Memoirs, of Lord Inchiquin having succoured the town with men and provisions sent in boats and ships from Cork. Admiral Penn left Youghal, doubtless, as the result of this letter before Castlehaven retreated from it to Cappoquin. Both seem to have been utterly wearied of their tedious operations at Youghal.

(To be continued.)

Cape Clear Island.

By JAMES M. BURKE, B.L.



CAPE CLEAR, the largest and most famous of "Carbery's hundred isles," lies about six miles to the south of the well-known fishing village of Baltimore. It is not, however, visible from Baltimore, as Sherkin Island stretches between them, whose forlorn-looking Abbey, built by Fineen O'Driscoll in 1460, and the squat castle of Dunnalong (i.e., the Fort of the Ships), another O'Driscoll structure, standing near each other, close by the seashore, can be easily discerned away to the south-east from the cliffs at Baltimore.

But whilst Inisherkin lies for the most part rather low and flat, with shallow shores, and terminates with a long peninsula running out to the south-west, Cape Clear, when viewed from the latter, appears to tower up like a mountain side; and on its southern portion more especially, ends in lofty precipitous cliffs that descend sheer, like walls, to the sea, particularly in the vicinity of Dunanore Castle.

The Island of Cape Clear is about three miles long and nearly two miles wide. It is divided into 17 townlands, and is about 1,400 acres in extent, and contains but two harbours, known as the North and South Harbours, the former being the principal one, and that nearest the mainland.

Cape Clear, or Inis Cleire, which Ussher Latinizes "Insula Clericorum," means the Island of the Clergy. Dr. Smith and Archdall identified it with Inisdamhly; but the latter is the place now called Little Island on the river Suir. (See "Notes and Queries" in *Journal* for Jan.-Mar., 1905.)

It long formed a portion of Cothluighe More, or Collymore, the patrimony of the O'Driscolls; and is thus referred to by O'Heerin in his Topographical Poem:

"O h-Eidirsceoil, chief king of the land
Of Corca Laidghe, I speak;
He assumed possession of the harbour of Cleire,
The tranquil pillar of the kings."

But "the great glory of Cape Clear," as Sir Jas. Ware wrote, "is Saint Ciaran, who is said to have been born there." Several Irish saints bore the name of Ciaran; but two of them stand forth in special prominence, viz., Ciaran of Saighir and Ciaran of Clonmacnoise. There are several extant lives of the former, such as the "Life of Ciaran of Saigher," by Michael O'Clery, preserved in the Burgundian Library, Brussels; "Life of Ciaran of Saigher, in Hodges and Smith's Collection of Irish MSS. in the R.I.A.; Life of St. Ciaran in the "Codex Kilkennensis" in Marsh's Library; Vita S. Kierani, 4to MS. in T.C.D.; "Life of St. Ciaran," Bodleian Library, Oxford; and two Lives of St. Kieran in Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum." John Capgrave, under iii. Non Mart, notes the acts of St. Piran, Bishop and Confessor; the Bollandists

chronicle him under March 5th, and Bishop Challoner devotes pp. 154-155 of "Brittania Sancta" to him. Of the modern writers on St. Ciaran are Alban Butler, Rev. S. Baring Gould, John Hogan, Rev. J. F. Shearman, and Canon John O'Hanlon. One of the ancient lives is to be found in O'Grady's "Silva Gadelica," which has also been published (1895: M. H. Gill & Son), with translations and notes by the late Rev. D. Mulcahy, under the title of "St. Kiaran the Elder of Seir."

The name of Ciaran's father, some say, was Lughaidh; others that it was Brandubh. Ussher in one place states that he was born in Ossory, but in a later work he declares that he was born "in regione Corcu-laigde, videlicet, in Clera insula." Hanmer avers that he was born in Ossory, and that his mother was Wingella; but it cannot be seriously doubted that he was born in Cape Clear, and that his mother was a native of Corca Laidhe.

The Scholiast of Aengus says "Ciaran was the son of Brandubh, son of Breasal, son of Bran, &c. . . . Liedania, the daughter of Maine Cearr of the Corca Laidhe, was his mother." The "Genealogy of Corca Laidhe" records "Maine, son of Aengus, had two sons, Eanna and Cathra, and one daughter, Lighain, the mother of Ciaran. . . . Eanna was father of Connall Claen. It was this Connall that compiled the Book of Dues for Connall and Fachtna (of Ross), and presented it to them at Ard-na-b-partan (Crab Hill) in Inis-beag (i.e., Inisbeg in river Ilen)."

St. Ciaran is said to have founded a convent for his mother at Killyon (which Ussher writes Ceall-liadhain, barony of Fircall, King's Co.). In the parish of Kilroe (Co. of Cork) there is a townland of Killeane which some also associate with Ciaran's mother.¹ A connection between Corca Laidhe and Ossory may be explained by the following passage from "Fragments of Irish Annals" (Ed. Dr. John O'Donovan): "Seven Kings of Corca Laidhe assumed the kingship of Ossory, and seven Kings of Ossory assumed the kingship of Corca Laidhe."

The old "Life of St. Kiaran" published by Father Mulcahy states that "it was in the Island of Cleire in Corca Laigde that he was born and bred." The date of Ciaran's birth raises a rather difficult question. The "Annals of Innisfallen," under the year 352, record that "St. Ciaran of Saigher and patron of Ossory was born in the Island of Clear, a promontory of Corca Laighe, in the County of Cork." Very eminent scholars, such as Usher and O'Flaherty, likewise assign his birth to the year 352. Hogan refers it to 375, while Drs. Todd and Lanigan and Father Shearman place it at a much later period. The "Genealogy of Corca Laidhe" says that "Liaghan, daughter of Maine, was the mother of Ciaran. He was born

¹ Father Mulcahy's "Life of St. Kiaran" relates that before this saint was conceived in his mother's womb she beheld a vision in which she saw as if a star had fallen down into her mouth, and she related this vision to the druids and knowing parties of that time. They said to her, "Thou shalt give birth to a marvellous son and great will be his character and virtues to the end of the world." And it was after that Ciaran the holy son was born. This ancient Life also furnishes the following pretty legend of St. Ciaran which well portrays his tenderness of heart and kindness to animals, "One day as he was in Cleire (it was there he did the beginning of his miracles whilst he only a young child), a bird of prey came hovering over his head in the air, and alighting before him seized a little bird that was lying in its nest in the presence of Ciaran and swooped it off and despoiled it. Ciaran, moved to pity for the little bird, felt sorely grieved. Immediately the priachan (bird of prey) returns and lays down before Ciaran the bird in a despoiled half-dead state. Then Ciaran said to it 'Arise, and be made whole;' the bird arose and went to its nest all right by the favour of God."

at Finntract, Cleire; and the angels of heaven attended upon her. The orders of heaven baptised him. Here was the residence of the chieftain who first believed in the Cross, for Ciaran had taken Saigher 30 years before St. Patrick arrived, as the poet says :

"Saigher the cold : raise a city on its brink.
At the end of 30 pleasant years
I will meet him then and there."

It was he (Ciaran) who predicted to the progeny of Eidirscel the chieftainship over their race for ever; and it was he left to the King of Corca Laidhe the eniclann of the king of a province for their having first believed in the Cross, and Ciaran is the eldest of saints of Eire, and it was he (Ciaran) that granted the privilege to them for having been the first to grant him Cill-Chiarain" (*"Celtic Miscellany,"* 1849, pp. 20-24). The old life of Ciaran (Ed. Mulcahy) begins "The holy Bishop Ciaran was the first-born of Irish saints"; De Burgo, Bishop of Ossory, refers to him as "primus sanctorum in Hibernia natus"; and the Scholiast of Aengus styles him "primarius sanctorum Hiberniae."

The common story is that St. Ciaran was born in Cape Clear anno 352; that in 382 he went to Rome, where he spent twenty years; that he was consecrated a Bishop by Pope Celestine; that on his way back to Ireland he met St. Patrick (in the island of Lerins), and that St. Patrick told him to found a monastery at a well called Uaran (or Fuaran). He asked St. Patrick where the well was. St. Patrick gave him a bell which he said would ring when he had reached the well. St. Ciaran returned to Ireland. Having preached the Gospel for some time in his native district of Corca Laidhe, he proceeded to journey to the midland counties; when he reached the place now called Seirkieran (Barony of Ballybrit, King's Co.), the bell rang out, and there he founded his monastery.

The "Annals of Innisfallen" record, anno 402, that "Ciaran and Declan, two Bishops, came from Rome to preach the Gospel in Ireland. Ciaran, having preached in Inis-Cleire and all over Corca Laidhe, founded an episcopal see in Ossory." The Scholiast of Aengus says, "Ciaran was the son of Brandubh, an Ossorian, and of Liadhain of the Ithian sept of Corca Laidhe. He was born in Finntract. The inhabitants of Corca Laidhe were the first to believe in the Cross. Kieran inhabited Saigher 30 years before the arrival of St. Patrick."

Here we find several ancient and modern writers ascribing the labours of Ciaran to a period anterior to the arrival of St. Patrick. It is abundantly evident that there were Christians in Ireland before the time of the great national apostle. This is manifest from the unequivocal language of Prosper (repeated by Bede) in recording the mission of St. Palladius. "He was ordained by Pope Celestine and sent to the Scoti (i.e. Irish) believing in Christ, as their first bishop." From the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick" we learn that the National Apostle found in the Barony of Tirerril, near Doogarhy, "a cave in the mountain, and within it a wonderful stone altar, and in it were four chalices of silver." The Lives of the Irish Saints contain references to four pre-patrician bishops, viz., Ailbe of Emly, Declan of Ardmore, Ciaran of Saigher, and Ibar of Beg-Erin. Furthermore, there was an organised British Church as early as 316. At the Council of Arles, which was held that year, three British Bishops

attended. There were Irish settlements dating back to the 3rd century in the south-west of Britain, and Professor Zimmer asserts that it is impossible to believe that Ireland remained pagan till 432, especially when we remember the intercourse that then existed between the South of Ireland and South West of Britain. That intercourse was of a very close character. It was by British aid that the great hero of Corca Laidhe—Lughaid Mac Con—obtained the sovereignty of Ireland; and we have indisputable proof that long before the fifth century there were several Irish settlements in Britain (vide Cormac's Glossary, sub voce Mugh-Eime). With these facts before us, we need not have much difficulty in assigning Ciaran to a pre-patrician period.

It must be noted, however, that some Lives of the Saints assert that he was a disciple of St. Finnian of Clonard, who flourished 520, while others make him a contemporary of his namesake, Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, who died about 550. To reconcile these dates with the pre-patrician view Ciaran must have lived to a patriarchal age, and some of his biographers do give him an inordinately long life, e.g., the "Martyrology of Donegal" records: "March 5th.—Ciaran of the race of Aengus Ossraighe. Lieun was his mother. He was 360 years when he died"!!!

Dr. Todd's views, as set forth in his "Life of St. Patrick" (pp. 199-203), are that the story of Ciaran having preceded St. Patrick was a forgery invented in the 11th or 12th century for the purpose of laying the foundation of a claim for the establishment of archiepiscopal jurisdiction in the South, though he admits that it cannot be denied that the traditions of the Irish Church speak of isolated congregations of Christians in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick. Dr. Lanigan's views practically coincide with Dr. Todd's; while Archbishop Healy is of opinion that Ciaran, Ailbe, and Declan had been consecrated abroad, and were engaged in preaching the Gospel when St. Patrick arrived; that his success eclipsed their labours; and that they recognised his superior ability, and became, as it were, his disciples.

The Island of Cape Clear is still rich in memorials of St. Ciaran. His feast day (March 5th) is observed as a strict holiday by the Islanders. Ciaran is still a not uncommon Christian name amongst them (other ancient baptismal names still preserved in Cape Clear are Mac Con, Heremon, Heber, &c.). His memory is also preserved in Tra-Kieran, Cill-Kieran, Tobar-Kieran, and Cloch or Gallawn-Kieran.

Tra-Kieran (Kieran's strand) is now the name of Finntract (white strand), where St. Ciaran was born. It forms part of North Harbour at the north-west end of the island. A chapel under his invocation is said to have been erected here. This was superseded by the old church of Kill-Kieran (or Temple-Kieran), of which the four walls still remain, surrounded by the only graveyard in the island. The walls of this old church, which probably dates from between the 12th and 13th century, measure about 46 feet long by 16 feet wide, but are only about 6 feet above the soil, owing to the latter having been raised by burials, &c.

In the eastern gable, which is still intact, is a small two-light lancet window whose mullion has disappeared. This gable wall curiously extends for four or five feet to the east of the building—buttress like, but whether it originally formed part of another structure or not the present writer is unable to decide. At the same side of the old church is the round



ST. KIERAN'S STONE.
Photo by Rev. T. J. O'Sullivan.)



KILKIERAN RUINED CHURCH.
(Photo by Rev. T. J. O'Sullivan.)

arched entrance doorway, one of whose jambs is curiously stepped. There is no indication of a window having existed in the western wall. The only other noticeable feature in this building is that in the north and south walls are aumbry-like recesses, close up to where the altar stood. Thanks to the exertions of the Rev. T. J. O'Sullivan, the priest in charge of the Island,² a boundary wall has been erected around Kilkieran graveyard.

Another memento of St. Ciaran, close by the old church, is Tober Kiaraun, or St. Kieran's well, "a mere hollow in the strand of Trakieran, which is covered by the tide at high water, yet on its receding the water in the well is found perfectly fresh, being fed from a deep source from below."

But the oldest and most notable relic of St. Kieran is the Gallaun Kiaraun, or Pillar-stone, standing also on Trakieran strand, which is believed to have been the work of St. Kieran's own hands, and to have been fixed in this spot in order to perpetuate his name. This ancient stone is of greyish colour and uniform texture, somewhat cylindrical in shape, but broader at its base than at its summit. It stands about 4 feet high in front, averages about two feet across, and is firmly embedded in the hillside bordering on the strand, a little to the east of Tober-Kiaraun and Teampul Kiaraun. This stone is still held in great veneration by the Islanders, who assemble round it in great numbers on the 4th of March, the eve of St. Kieran's Day.

On its front and back the stone bears a plain incised cross about 18 inches long; and on its top part, which is slightly convex, there is another plain but smaller cross in relief. It thus forms one of the oldest Christian relics that we possess.³

To the south-east of Trakieran are the remains of O'Driscoll's Castle of Dunanore, i.e., the Golden Fort, which is fully described in Dr. Smith's "Cork." Its south and east walls are still perfect; but the little causeway that led to it in Smith's time has since disappeared, and the bold promontory upon which it stands becomes a complete island when high tides prevail. Its central arch and the steps leading to its upper portion remain; but the huge pieces of its eastern wall now lying about show how severely it has suffered from the havoc of war. This wholesale destruction occurred when Dunanore Castle, together with the Island, was captured on the 22nd of March, 1601, by Captain Roger Harvey, following on the defeat of the Spaniards at Kinsale. By means of the artillery he planted on the high ground adjoining it, he battered down the eastern wall and compelled the garrison to surrender, for which and other services (as Dr. Donovan writes in his "Sketches of Carbery") he was granted at the time a commission by Lord Deputy Mountjoy as Governor of Carbery.

Dr. Donovan further relates that when a garrison of soldiers was stationed at Cape Clear in the reign of Queen Anne, one of them made great but vain efforts to discover the gold supposed to be secreted here, whence the place got its name of Dunanore. Close to the castle walls

² One of Father O'Sullivan's predecessors, a Father O'Mahony, was author of some Gaelic poems, which are still recited by the natives of Cape Clear.

³ In the genealogies of the Hy-Fiachrach reference is made to a similar cross sculptured on a pillar stone by St. Patrick at Ballina Tirawley; and Marcus Keane ("Round Towers of Ireland") observes that St. Kieran's pillar stone is of the same shape as the stone of Bel-Pear at Tara.

was formerly fixed in the solid rock a large iron ringbolt, to which the O'Driscolls used to moor their galleys riding in the little creek adjacent to it. The Islanders, he adds, believe the castle to be haunted by a phantom ship's crew, who have been heard singing and carousing at night, but disappear like magic at daybreak.

But though there are neither coastguards nor police in Cape Clear Island, the inhabitants have now but little chance of indulging in the brandy drinking alluded to by Dr. Smith. As in his time, the priest of the Island is as much their temporal as their spiritual ruler. There is a little whitewashed chapel here, as humble in its appearance as that described in Smith's "Cork." But though there are now national schools here, the Irish language is still spoken to a great extent by the inhabitants. The latter, as when Dr. Donovan wrote of them over thirty years ago, in complexion and features bear a strong resemblance to the people of North Spain, whence their progenitors originally migrated to Carbery, with which part of Europe they maintained a close communication down to the 17th century.

Fishing has always been the great source of employment on Cape Clear Island. Long before the Battle of Kinsale (1602), the Spaniards frequented the vicinity of Baltimore and the Cape in great numbers, and occasionally resided on the Island. A portion of the mainland near Baltimore got on that account, and still retains, the name of Spain; and the island west of Inisherkin is called Spanish Island. During the 18th century the Kinsale fishermen were also in the habit of building huts on the island during the fishing season, where they cured the fish they caught off its shores. A good deal of fish is still cured here and packed in barrels for the foreign markets. A prevalent surname on the Island for centuries is O'Driscoll. Lewis's "Topographical Dictionary" records that till about the year 1710 the Cape Islanders had a resident king chosen by and from amongst themselves, and an ancient code of laws handed down by tradition, which it was his duty to administer; and though the king had neither funds for the maintenance of his dignity, nor officers to enforce his authority, the people generally submitted voluntarily to these laws, and were always ready to carry his judgments into execution. The greater number of the laws are become obsolete; but some still (1837) remain, and are enforced with vigour."

The last of these titular kings was an O'Driscoll whose grave is still pointed out at Kilkieran, as is also that of another famous O'Driscoll, who lived in the 18th century, whose name was Conchobhar, or Crohoor O'Careavaun, in English Conor, son of Hermon (O'Driscoll). He is said to have been eight feet high, stout in proportion, and of incredible strength. "As strong as Crohoor O'Carevaun," is a prevalent saying in West Cork. Dr. Donovan states that a short time before his death he retired, hermit like, to Dunanore Castle, where he died. There is no inscription over his grave, or that of his kinsman, the last Island King in Teampul Kiaraun.

In 1862 Cape Clear suffered severely through a failure in the potato crop, a bad harvest, and a scarcity of fish; but owing to the exertions of the then Parish Priest, the late Rev. Henry Leader, funds were raised for the relief of the distressed Islanders, and several families were helped to emigrate to Canada and the United States. A benefactress of that

time was the late Baroness Burdett Coutts, who more recently still substantially aided the late Rev. Charles Davis, P.P., in providing the Cape Islanders with suitable fishing boats.

The eastern part of Cape Clear Island, near the South Harbour, was for a time the terminal station of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable; and during the American war (between North and South) was, as Dr. Donovan wrote, a place of considerable importance, the first spot in the Old World whence the news from America was telegraphed for the information of millions. When the transatlantic steamers from New York approached the Island rival crews of hardy natives launched their boats and set out to meet them, the first boat's crew to reach the steampacket being rewarded with a sovereign. The despatches were thrown overboard in a buoyant waterproof case, quickly picked up, and conveyed on shore, whence all important telegrams were, without further delay, wired to London.

A short distance westward, on the summit of Foil Cahill, the highest cliff on the Island, 480 feet above the sea, was formerly a lighthouse with revolving lights visible in clear weather at a distance of 28 nautical miles. But as in foggy weather the light was found to become obscured by cloud and mist, the lighthouse proved to be comparatively useless. It was therefore condemned, and a new lighthouse erected on Fastnet Rock (Carrigeena, or Carrig aonar, the lone rock), five miles to the south of Cape Clear. It was from the vicinity of the Fastnet that about forty years ago the famous Captain Paul Boyton swam ashore from one of the American mail steamers; and after a seven hours' swim, landed safely at Trafaska Bay, in the neighbourhood of Baltimore.

Close to where the old lighthouse stands a Signal Tower of fortress-like appearance was erected immediately after the arrival of the French at Bantry Bay in 1798. Owing to its exposed situation, it was found a matter of great danger to occupy it.

About the time that this Tower was erected the long upright stones, known as Fir Breige (in English, False Men), were set up on a prominent position at the south-west end of the Island, close to the high cliffs overhanging the sea. They were intended to scare away any hostile force, and it is said were each provided with a scarlet uniform, so that when observed from the sea they might be mistaken for a company of soldiers on the alert.

In the south-west end of the Island are some fresh-water lakes, one of which, called Lough Erral, or Reen (from righin, stiff or adhesive), is nearly a mile in circumference, whose water, owing to the quantity of subcarbonate of soda which it contains, possesses cleansing properties to a remarkable degree.

Amongst the place-names on Cape Clear Island are Ballyieragh (Baile iarthach, i.e., western land, in which the stones called Fir breige, or False Men, are situated. In Coomillaun (Cum Oileain, i.e., hollow of the island) is an old disused burial place, called Kil-vroon, and near it a well named Tobar Kilvroon. Near here is a gallaun, or pillar-stone, with a hole through it, where lovers, it is said, used to plight their troth by joining hands through the aperture, whence the stone is called Cloch na Geall-amhna, i.e., the stone of promise.

In the South Harbour is a little cove called Ineer-beg (Inbhir-beag, i.e., small haven). Other places in the same townland are Blananarra-

gawn (Blatha na n oragun, i.e., blossom of the wild marjoram, or, more probably, Creek of the Bream); Coosnaganoge, i.e., Puffin's cove; Car-rigacuskeam, i.e., rock of the footstep; Foilnateuda, i.e., rock of the rope; Foildermoty Cronacane, i.e., the cliff of Dermot Cronacane O'Driscoll, Cronacane being a sort of nickname of the O'Driscolls.

In the townland of Glen there is the pillar-stone called Gallaun-nabawnoge, i.e., the stone of the small barns. Here also is Illaunfaha, i.e., island exercise-green.

In Lisamona is Gortalassa, the field of the lios, which marks the site of the Lis which gave its name to the townland.

By Knockanenaurnagh, or Limpet Hill, is Tradoon Cleara, i.e., the strand of the fort of the Cape Clear. Other townlands are Carhoona, quarter lands; Cummer, a ravine, valley, or meeting place; Ardgort, i.e., high field; Croha, round, ricklike hills; while at the eastern end of the Island is the strand called File Coagh, i.e., the Cliff of the Cuckoo, the point most adjacent to the mainland. Among other place-names are Illauncana, i.e., Bird Island; Cooslahan, i.e., Broad Cove; Pointabullig, Point of the Eminence; Ardatruha, Hill of the Stream; Pouladirik, Hole of the Cave; and Foil nee Cahill, the Cliff of Cahill's Daughter. The channel which separates Cape Clear Island from Inisherkin is called Gasconane Sound, an appropriate name (meaning petulant or saucy), as this Sound is usually stormy or agitated, and often dangerous for small vessels to cross. Another derivation of Gasconane, besides that of Dr. D. Donovan, just given, is from Gaiseach, abounding in currents, or Gasach, branching, or impetuous. There was an old custom that whoever crossed it for the first time should make a couplet in rhyme.

The post boat, which leaves Baltimore in the afternoon each Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, forms a safe and inexpensive means of reaching Cape Clear Island; but the limited hotel accommodation precludes a prolonged stay on this otherwise very primitive, interesting and attractive Co. Cork island.

Minutes from the Council Book of the Borough of Bandon Bridge.

(Continued from p. 99, vol. xii., 2nd Series, 1906.)

By ROBERT DAY, F.S.A., *President.*

"Boro' of Bandon Bridge. At a general assembly of the Provost and Free Burgesses of said Borough this 26 day of September, 1765.

James Bernard,¹ Esq., who was appointed Treasurer of this Corporation for the last year, did this day give up his accounts, by which it appeared that the sum of Twenty Five pounds six shillings and sevenpence was remaining in his hands, which he paid

¹ James Bernard, Esq., was born 8 Dec., 1729. He was member of several Parliaments for the Co. Cork, and married, 1752, Esther, daughter of Percy Smyth, Esq., of Headborough. He died July 7th, 1790, having had issue Francis who was elevated to the Peerage of Ireland as Baron Bandon, 30th Nov., 1793, created Viscount Bandon 6th Oct., 1795, and advanced 6th of August, 1800, to the dignity of Viscount Bernard and Earl of Bandon. These honours are now, and we trust for many years will continue to be, enjoyed by the Rt. Hon. James Francis, fourth and present Earl.

over to Jona Tanner, Esq., Provost, and we do appoint him the said Jona Tanner Treasurer for the ensuing year, and we do order that the sum of Twenty pounds Stg. shall be paid the said Jona Tanner, with the sum of Eighty pounds already paid him completes the sum of one hundred pounds for his salary for the year of his Provostship.

Signed,

JONA TANNER, Provost.	RICHARD SAVAGE.
ARTHUR BERNARD.	FRANCIS TRAVERSE.
GEORGE SEALY.	ISAAC HEWETT."

Sep. 29, 1765. At a general meeting of the Provost, Burgesses, &c., in the Courthouse, George Sealy, Esqre., was this day sworn as Provost, and had the Ensigns of honour delivered to him. Signed, Jona Tanner, Provost.

3rd October, 1765. At a general assembly of the Provost and Free Burgesses at the South Courthouse. The customs of the fairs and markets of said Corporation were by publick cant let to Edward Davis for the ensuing year, for which he is to pay one hundred and twenty-five pounds Stg., in four equal quarterly payments. Signed, George Sealy, Provost; Arthr. Bernard, Franc. Travers, Isaac Hewett.

Borough of Bandon Bridge. At a Court held in the South Courthouse for said Borough, on Friday, the fourth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-six, George Sealy, Esq., Provost.

Whereas, Nicholas Dunscombe, Esq., high Sheriff of the County of Corke, pursuant to his Majtie's writt forth of his Majtie's High Court of Chancery to Him directed, bearing date the 25th day of January last, hath issued his precept directed The Provost and free Burgesses of the said Borough of Bandon Bridge, bearing date the 28 day of January last. Requesting the electing and choosing one proper and discreet free Burgess of the said Borough of Bandon Bridge to appear at this present Parliament now held for this Kingdom of Ireland in the room and place of Wm. Conner, Esq., there to do and consult in behalf of said Borough to all such matters as shall concern the publick weal of said Kingdom, pursuant to the Charter of said Borough granted by King James the First. We, the Provost and Free Burgesses, do consent in behalf of said Borough, on the day and year above mentioned, do duly elect and declare Francis Bernard, of Castle Bernard, in said County, Esq., a discreet, fit, and proper Burgess to represent the said Borough and to consult, act and do all such matters and things as shall be moved and done in the said Parliament for and concerning the publick weal of this Kingdom, in the room and place of the said William Conner, deceased. Witness our hands the day and year above written.

GEORGE SEALY, Provost.	JOHN SEALY.
ARTH. BERNARD	FRANCIS TRAVERS.
THOS. ADDERLEY.	JAMES BERNARD.
RICHD. SAVAGE.	ISAAC HEWETT.
JONA TANNER.	

At the next meeting of the Council, held on June 24, 1766, George Conner, Esq., was elected Provost.

Borough of Bandon Bridge, 24th June, 1767.

"We, the under-named Free Burgesses of said Borough, being as we conceive the majority of Free legal Burgesses of said Borough in this Kingdom, do protest and object against the right claimed by John Traverse to vote as a burgess of the said Borough on the election of a Provost of this Borough for the ensuing year, or any other election, the said Traverse being elected by surprise in a secret, clandestine and illegal manner, as we apprehend in evasion and elusion of a peremptory mandamus, granted by the Court of King's Bench in this Kingdom, and therefore not being a legal Burgess. That in case George Conner, Esq., had a right to hold an election for a Provost, we, Jona Tanner, Arthur Bernard, Thos. Adderley, Richard Savage, Js. Bernard, and Isaac Hewett, Free Burgesses, did attend and tender our voices for Jas. Bernard to succeed to that office. Signed,

JONA TANNER.	ARTHUR BERNARD.	RICHARD SAVAGE.
ISAAC HEWETT.	THO. ADDERLEY.	JAMES BERNARD."

June the twenty-fourth, 1767.

At a general assembly of the Provost and free Burgesses in the South Court House in said Borough, before George Conner, Esq., Provost thereof, to elect a Provost for the ensuing year, pursuant to the Charters granted by King James the First, the Rt. Honble. Richard, Earl of Shannon, one of the Free Burgesses of said Borough, was this day elected Provost of said Borough for the ensuing year, to take the oath and place of Provost on the 29th day of September next, being Michaelmas day, according to the

constitution and charter rules of said Borough. Witness our hands the day and year first above written.

JOHN SEALY.
FRANCIS TRAVERS.
JOHN TRAVERS.

GEO. CONNER, Provost.
SHANNON.²
GEORGE SEALY.

Richard, Earl of Shannon, elected Provost.

Under the same date, June 24, 1767, we find the following protest by another section of the free Burgesses against the election of the Earl of Shannon to the Provostship :—

"We, the under-named Free Burgesses of said Borough, being as we apprehend the majority of legal Free Burgesses of said Borough now in this Kingdom, as a protest against the pretended election and entry of the election of the Earl of Shannon to be Provost of this Borough for the ensuing year, the said pretended election being held by George Conner, who did and doth, as we apprehend, usurp the office of Provost of the Borough, and the vote of John Travers being admitted at such pretended election, who is not, as we apprehend, a legal Burgess of the Borough, and for this further reason, that in case the sd George Conner had a right to hold the said election, we, the said majority and each of us, did attend and tendered our several and respective votes for the election of James Bernard, Esq., one of the free Burgesses of sd Borough to the sd office of Provost on the 29th day of September next, being Michaelmas day.

Protest to the Election to the Earl of Shannon, Provost.

JONA TANNER.
THO. ADDERLEY.
JAMES BERNARD.

ARTHUR BERNARD.
RICHARD SAVAGE.
ISAAC HEWETT.

Arising out of this protest a majority meeting of the Free Burgesses assembled on the following day, September 30th, which was presided over by Jonathan Tanner, Senior Burgess of the Borough, who found that the pretended election was "a mere nullity," and they, in conformity to an Act of the Irish Parliament made in the nineteenth year of King George II., elected James Bernard, Esq., to be Provost, and to take the oath and place of Provost on the 29th of September next, being Michaelmas Day.

Borough of Bandon Bridge, in the County of Corke, 29th day of Sept., 1767. At an assembly of Jonathan Tanner, Esq., senior Burgess of said Borough, held at the South Courthouse in said Borough, to swear in Provost for the ensuing year. Whereas James Bernard, Esq., one of the Free Burgesses of said Borough, was on the 25th day of June last past, in conformity to an Act of Parliament made in this Kingdom in the nineteenth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, elected Provost of the said Borough for the ensuing year, to take the oath and place of Provost on Michaelmas day then next following. The said James Bernard was this day sworn Provost, and took the several oaths required by law, and had the Ensign of honour delivered to Him. In testimony whereof I have hereunto put my hand this 29th day of September, 1767.—JONA TANNER

At a Court held for said Borough, before James Bernard, Esq., Provost thereof, this 1st day of October, 1767, the following persons were approved of to be Constables for the ensuing year :—

North Side.
GEORGE FORD.
DANL. SKUCE.
JOHN SULLIVAN.
GEORGE HAMMETT.
DAVID ABBOTT.
WILLIAM FLEMING.
ROBT BOND.

South Side.
ELLIS DUDLEY.
JOS. REILLY.
THOMAS LYON.
GEORGE BASS.
BARTHOL. MALOWNEY.

On this day Patrick Gafney and Joseph Bishopp were admitted and sworn Serjeants at Mace for said Borough, and Jonathan Bassett was admitted Marshall. Mr. Thomas Biggs was unanimously appointed and sworn weighmaster of the Corporation, and is to enter into bonds with Mr. Jerrea. Biggs and Mr. James Popham that he will execute

² This was Richard, Baron Castle Martyr, Viscount Boyle, and 2nd Earl of Shannon, born 30th January, 1727. His only daughter, Catherine Henrietta, married Francis, Earl of Bandon, and died July 8th, 1815.

the said office of weighmaster agreeable to an Act of Parliament in that case made and provided.—JAMES BERNARD, Provost, &c., &c.

The Market Jury consisted of 12 members, viz. :—

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. JEREMIAH BIGGS. | 7. JOHN HARRIS. |
| 2. THOMAS HOLLAND. | 8. JOHN ALWORTH. |
| 3. JOSEPH WHEELER. | 9. THOS. WHEELER. |
| 4. JONATHAN WHEELER. | 10. JOHN WILLIAMS. |
| 5. CHAS. MCCARTHY. | 11. DAVID BARRY. |
| 6. ISAAC BIGGS. | 12. JAMES FIELDING. |

Borough of Bandon Bridge, in the County of Corke, 10th day of October, 1767. The Customs of the Fairs and Markets of said Boro' were this day in open Court set to Edward Davis for the ensuing year, to commence from this day, to hold and enjoy said Customs until the tenth day of October, which will be in the year 1768, for which he is to pay the sum of one hundred and sixty-one pounds, by four equal payments—that is to say the first payment on the twenty-fifth day of December next; the next payment on the twenty-fifth day of March next; the third on the twenty-fourth day of June next, and the last payment on the twenty-ninth day of September next, for which sum he shall execute four bonds jointly and severally with such person or persons as shall be approved by the Provost and Burgesses of sd Boro'. And it is ordered that the Town Clerk shall issue summons to the sevr. Burgesses of said Boro' to attend here on Monday next to settle the accts. of said Boro'.—JAMES BERNARD, Provost, &c.

Mr. Thomas Child admitted and sworn Freeman of this Borough, as the eldest son of a Freeman, October 12th, 1767.

Twenty-fourth day of June, 1768. John Travers, Esq., elected Provost, to take the oath and office on the 29th of Sep. next, being Michaelmas Day.

At a Court held for the Borough on Saturday, the 2nd day of July, 1768, James Bernard, Esq., Provost.

Whereas, Nicholas Lysaght, Esqre., High Sheriffe of the County of Corke, pursuant to His Majesty's writt, forth of His Majesty's High Court of Chancery to him directed, bearing date the twenty-first day of June, in the eighth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, hath issued his precept directed to the said Provost and Burgesses of the said Borough of Bandon Bridge, bearing date the twenty-fifth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight: Requiring the electing and chusing two proper free and discreet Burgesses of the said Borough of Bandon Bridge to appear at the next Parliament to be held for the Kingdom of Ireland on the first day of August next, there to do and consent in behalf of said Borough to all such matters as shall concern the publick of this Kingdom. In pursuance thereunto we, the said Provost and free Burgesses of said Borough, according to the tenor of the Charters of said Borough, being assembled the day and year above written, to wit the 2d day of July, 1768, have elected and chosen for us and in our behalf Francis Bernard and Thomas Adderley, Esqres., To serve as our two Burgesses in said Parliament for said Borough, to do and execute all things fully and truly.

FRANCIS TRAVERS.
RICHD. SAVAGE.
GEORGE SEALY.

JAMES BERNARD, Provost.
ISAAC HEWETT.
JOHN TRAVERS.
JOHN SEALY.

JONA. TANNER.
ARTHUR BERNARD.
THOS. ADDERLEY.

24th day of Sepr., 1768. At a general assembly of the Provost, Free Burgesses, Common Council, and Freemen of said Borough, before James Bernard, Esq., Provost, William Conner was elected Common Council man in the place of John Travers, and John Harris in the place of William Litton Signed,

JAMES BERNARD, Provost.
RICHD. DOWDEN, Junr.
M. O'SULLIVAN.
ARTHUR BERNARD.
JOHN TRAVERS.

GEORGE WOOD.
JOHN WILLIAMS.
FRANCIS BERNARD.
GEORGE SEALY.

CHAS. MCCARTHY.
JOHN MORRIS.
JOSEPH BISHOPP.
FRANCIS TRAVERS.

THOMAS HOLLAND.
JONA. TANNER.
RD. SAVAGE.
ISAAC HEWETT.

On Sep. 29th, 1768, John Travers was sworn Provost.

The customs of the Fairs and Markets were, on the 6th day of October, 1768, in open court, by publick cant set to Edwd. Davis for the ensuing year, for the sum of one hundred and twenty-five pounds, &c., &c. At a court held on the same day the following persons were appointed Constables for the ensuing year:—North Side—David Abbott, John Moxley, Richard Abbott, David Rains, Richard Hammett the Younger, John Burtless of Sugar Lane.

Borough of Bandon Bridge, in the County of Corke. At a court held for sd Boro' this

6th day of October, 1768, John Travers, Esq., Provost, the following persons were appointed clerks of the Markets Jury of this Corporation for the ensuing year :—

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|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. FRANCIS TRAVERS. | 5. ALER. MARTIN. | 9. JAS. DOWDEN. |
| 2. JAMES SEALY. | 6. THOS. CHILD. | 10. THOS. WHEELER. |
| 3. JAMES WHEELER. | 7. RD. HUTCHINS. | 11. JAMES FIELDING. |
| 4. JOHN KINGSTON. | 8. RICHD. DOWDEN, Younger. | 12. THOS. CLEAR. |

June 22, 1769. Henry Baldwin, Esq., was sworn Freeman of the Borough by appointment of John Travers, Esq., Provost.

June 24, 1769. At a general assembly of the Provost and Free Burgesses in the South Court House in said Borough, before John Travers, Esq., Provost, to elect a Provost for the ensuing year, pursuant to the charter granted by King James the First, Isaac Hewett, Esq., one of the free Burgesses of said Borough, was this day elected Provost for the ensuing year, &c., &c. Signed,

JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.	JONA TANNER.	ARTHUR. BERNARD.
GEORGE SEALY.	JOHN SEALY.	FRANCIS. TRAVERS.
JAMES BERNARD.		RICHD. SAVAGE.
		ISAAC HEWETT.

And whereas several disputes have of late arise within this Corporation on account of the measuring Char Coal within this Borough, it is therefore ordered that for the future no Char Coal shall be bought or sold within said Borough but what shall be measured by a Barrell which shall contain Six Bushells. Signed,

JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.	JONA TANNER.	ARTHUR. BERNARD.
FRANCIS. TRAVERS.	RICHD. SAVAGE.	JAMES BERNARD.
ISAAC HEWETT.	THOMAS HOLLAND.	JOHN WILLIAMS.
WILLIAM CONNER.		JOHN HARRIS.

24th day of June, 1770. At a general assembly of the Provost and Free Burgesses at the, South Courthouse, before Isaac Hewett, Esq., Provost. "Whereas it is necessary for this Corporation on several occasions to have recourse the Acts of Parliament made in this Kingdom, and also to have the sevl. newspapers after mentioned, to witt, the 'London Chronicle,' 'Dublin Journal,' and 'Corke Evening Post.' It is therefore ordered that the sevl. Acts of Parliament made in this Kingdom, and the said newspapers shall be procured as soon as they can conveniently be had, and the said Acts shall be lodged with the Town Clerke of said Borough for the use of sd. Corporation, and the sd. newspapers, after they have been perused by the Provost, shall be left at the house, Alexander Jack, in said Borough for the perusal of members of sd. Corporation, and we do hereby order the Treasurer of sd. Corporation to pay such sum or sums as shall be necessary for the purchasing said Acts of Parliament and newspapers.—ISAAC HEWETT, Provost, &c., &c."

21st day of June, 1770. The following persons were appointed to assess the County rate and Bellman's salary on the inhabitants of the Borough of Bandon :—

For the South Side.	North Side.
FRAS. TRAVERS, Burgess.	JOHN TRAVERS, Burgess.
JAMES SEALY, Comn. Counc.	THOMAS HOLLAND, Comn. Counc.
THOMAS CHILD, Freeman.	DA. BARRY, Freeman.

The above persons are required to assess the above in ten days.

On the 24th of June, 1770, John Travers, Esq., was elected Provost for the ensuing year. Signed by Isaac Hewett, Provost, &c., &c.

27th day of Sept., 1770. Sampson Stawell, Esq., appointed and sworn Freeman of this Corporation.

Under the same date it was ordered that Isaac Hewett, Esq., the outgoing Provost, shall receive the "full sum of one hundred pounds as his salary for this year." Here follow the signatures.

October 4, 1770. "The customs of the fairs and markets were this day set in open court to Edwd. Davis for the ensuing year, to commence on the tenth of October inst., to hold and enjoy said customs unto the 10th day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one, for which he is to pay the sum of one hundred and thirty-five pounds Stg," by four equal quarterly payments. Signed, JOHN TRAVERS, Provost, &c., &c.

The day and year above mentioned the following persons were annoited and sworn Constables to serve for the ensuing year, to wit,

GOODMAN ATKINSON.	JOHN SULLIVAN.	RICHD. DODDLY.
RICHARD CLEAR.	WILLIAM BORMAN.	JOHN BIRD.
DANL. DALY.	HENRY HEAZLE.	THOMAS COOMES.
WILLIAM DAMMERY.	JOS. ABBOTT.	

22nd day of November, 1770. To elect two Common Council men, one in the room of Mr. Isaac Biggs, the other in the room of Mr. Wm. Spratt, deceased, late two the Common Council men of said Corporation. Mr. Richard Sealy, one of the Freemen of said Corpn. was this day elected and sworn one of the Comn. Council men of sd. Borough in the room of the sd. Isaac Biggs, and Mr. Thos. Child, one of the Freemen of sd. Corpn., was this day elected and sworn one of the Common Council men in room of the said Wm. Spratt.—JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.

BURGESSES—Jona Tanner, Shannon, George Sealy, John Sealy, Francis Travers, Richard Savage, Isaac Hewett.

COMMON COUNCIL MEN—Walter Travers, J. Biggs, Richd. Dowden, Jr.; John Williams, Frans. Allman, Joseph Wheeler.

FREEMEN—Thomas Wheeler, Thos. Morgan, William Leavis, Fras. Hewett, John W . . . , Francis Bernard.

22nd Nov., 1770. William Conner elected Burgess in place of George Conner, deceased.—JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.

At the same assembly the Rev. John Sullivan was sworn a Freeman of the said Corporation by the appointment of the Provost.

On the 24th day of June, 1771, Arthur Bernard, Esq., was elected Provost. "Witness our hands the day and year above written.

JONA TANNER. ARTHUR BERNARD. GEORGE SEALY.
RICHARD SAVAGE. JAMES BERNARD.
WILLM. CONNER.

JOHN TRAVERS, Provost.
FRANS. TRAVERS.
ISAAC HEWETT.

A History of the O'Mahony Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha.

(Continued from page 81.)

BY REV. CANON O'MAHONY, GLENNVILLE, CROOKSTOWN.

[Addenda et Corrigenda.—One of the earliest references to the Ui Eachach Sept (afterwards called after Mahon) and to their fort, Rath Rathleann, is that of Maelmuire of Fahan in Donegal, "a poet and erudite historian," according to the Four Masters in recording his death in A.D. 884:—

"Eochu Rathline ceán oíonḡao
Cáin culaó,
eoganaét ceí ou i rat
la bḡḡu munan."

TRANSLATION.

"The Clan Eochy of Rathlean is without opposition
Magnificent their apparel,
Eoghanacht, wherever they are found
In the land of Munster."

From an imperfect quotation of the above in Cronnelly, the present writer thought it referred to the Ui Eachach of Uladh, and therefore omitted it. An inspection of the original in Dr. Todd's "Nennius," p. 254, shows clearly that the bard meant the Ui Eachach of Munster.

The "Munster Annals" often quoted by Sir James Ware, and supposed to be lost, have been recently identified by the present writer in an Irish MS. in the R.I.A., misdescribed as one of the "copies of the Innisfallen Annals." In it the agreement between Brian and Cian after the battle of Bealach Leachta is given as follows:—Peace was made between Brian and Cian, and Brian's daughter was given in marriage to Cian, and the tributes of the race of Eogan Mor and his own share of Munster from Carn Thierna to Carn Ui Neid, and from Sliabh Caoin to the sea (in the South), and the keeping of Cashel and Loch Gur and the island of Loch Saighlin and other fortresses in Munster."

The compilers of the so-called Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, who draw largely on these Annals, omit all the words after "Eoghan Mor," and substitute a supposition of their own. See *supra* p. 12, note.

It seems probable on reconsideration that the separation of the Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha did not take place until after 1259, and thus Dermot Mor may have been for some years chief of the entire Septland east and west.]

PART IV.

KINELMEKY.

After the voluntary division of the Sept in the middle of the thirteenth century, distinctive appellations became necessary for the separated territories and for their chieftains. "It is curious," says Dr. O'Donovan, "to remark the whim of custom in applying names to territories. The country of the Western O'Mahony retained the tribe name of the whole Sept (Ivagha, Ui Eachach), while that of the Eastern O'Mahony received that of Cinelmbece (Kinelmeky) from Bec or Bece, an ancestor less remote than Eocaidh." (Notes supplied by Dr. O'D. to Prof. Kelly, Ed. of *Cambrensis Eversus*). The chieftain of the Eastern Sept, though sometimes called *Ṭigearna Cineálmbece*, Lord of Kinelmeky, was generally designated *O Matṣarna Cáríbreac* in the Annals and Genealogical MSS., "O'Mahon or O'Mahony of Carbery," in the English State papers. This recognised appellation preserved the memory of the ancient predominance of his ancestor in Carbery. His western kinsman, of the elder branch of the family, is known in the Annals and other Irish documents as *O Matṣarna an Fúin Iartaras* or *Antaras*, i.e., "of the Western Land," and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as O'Mahon Fionn, i.e., the Fairhaired, from an ancestor that succeeded in A.D. 1513. Whoever prepared the Index of O'Donovan's Ed. of the Four Masters has created some confusion by bestowing the territorial designation, "of Carbery," on both chieftains indifferently. Cox, in his *Regnum Corcagiense*, discriminates them and their tribe lands by correct appellations: "The best branch was that of O'Mahown Fionn (Fune) alias 'Ownyerer,' or of the West, as he resided in West Carbery, where he had twelve castles, the principal whereof were Ardintenant and Three Castle Head. The other branch was called O'Mahown Carbry, and his seat was at Castle Mahon, which was then part of Carbry." The name Kinelmeky replaced the older tribal name Kinelea as regards the northern and western portions of the territory. Kinelea itself had replaced two older appellations, Musgry Mitine, which anciently was applied to the eastern and north-eastern portion,¹ in which was the chief's residence, Rath Rathleann, and Carbery, which was the name of the southern portion of the district, in which was built Castle Mahon, now called Castle Bernard. Dr. O'Brien, in his Irish Dictionary (sub voce Carbery), says that "Carbery was anciently a portion of Corcalaidhe (Corcalee), and extended from Bandon to the Mizen Head in the west." But it has been shown in the introductory portion of this history that Irish writers distinguished not only Corcalee but Ivagha from Carbery. With that correction, Dr. O'Brien's definition of Carbery may be

¹ The Rath lay to the east of Kilbrennan Abbey, which, according to old records seen by Colgan and Usher, was in Musgry Mitine. This may also be inferred from the Irish Life of St. Finbar.

accepted. His view that it was originally part of Corcalee is confirmed by some place names; for instance, Ballymodan (Bandon), pronounced by Irish speakers Ballymudain, is called after the Corcalee family of Mudan. We have already adopted the opinion of the old Irish antiquaries that the name Carbery came from Cairbre Riada in the third century, but it is quite possible that it may have come from the Corcalee tribe, Ui Carbre, who gave a name to Rosscarbery; or it may have come from Cairbre, one of the chiefs of the Ui Eachach, of the Cinel Laeghere branch, who flourished A.D. 580. We have proved that the modern conjecture deriving this very ancient name from the Carbre Aedha or O'Donovans is utterly untenable, and that the extension of the name to the four baronies was an English, not an Irish usage. (*Supra*, vol. xii., No. 72, p. 183).²

Donal Gott Mac Carthy, ancestor of Mac Carthy Reagh, after his unprovoked attack on the Sept in 1232, henceforward, says the *Innisfallen Annalist*, assumed the name "Cairbreach," and commenced to "live in the South"—that is to say, in that part of the original Kinelmeky which lay about Kilbrittain, which De Courcy had probably occupied before A.D. 1200, and sought to secure by building Kilbrittain Castle, of which Donal, or his son Fineen, deprived him. The district occupied included, besides Kilbrittain, Rathclarin, Burren, Rathdroutha, Dowagh, which were parts of the Deanery Kinelea Ultra with which Kinelmeky was originally identical. After that time there was no further encroachment on Kinelmeky by any MacCarthy Reagh, though the district *west of Kinelmeky*—that is to say, from Enniskean to the confines of Ivagha—was seized some time between 1260 and 1300.

After Donal Gott's raid of 1232, peace prevailed between his sept and that of the O'Mahons until 1259, when hostilities were renewed by Donal's son and successor, Fineen of Ringrone. An unfortunate incident furnished him with a pretext. Crom O'Donovan, chief of his name, in coming from or going to his own tribeland in West Cork, happened to pass by Innisbheil, now Phale, west of Ballineen, and there, becoming involved in a squabble with the O'Mahon's herdsmen, he was slain by them. (*Dublin Annals of Innisfallen*, under year A.D. 1254). Though the death of O'Donovan is not attributed by this record to the Chief of Kinelmeky (or any of the principal members of his clan), Fineen of Ringrone,³ ever eager for a fray, took the opportunity of attacking him, possibly at the request of O'Donovan's successor. The *Bodleian Annalist of Innisfallen* records that in the skirmish that ensued "Macraith O'Mahon and several other nobles (maite) were killed." Macraith was the eldest son of Dermod, who, as we have said, was the first chief of the western Sept. The (*Dublin*) *Annalist* says that Dermod himself was slain, and that this event occurred in 1254. But it is not credible that the original *Annalist* would fail to record the death of a chief, while recording the death of his son. We

² To what is there said it may be added that Dr. O'Donovan adopted the opinion (vol. ii. *Four Masters*, p. 934) that "The O'Donovans were finally expelled from Hy Fidhgente in Co. Limerick in 1229." O'Mahon had the name Carbreach in 1220, and Donal Gott assumed it in 1232.

³ Mr. Mac Carthy (Glas), in his "*Mac Carthys of Glennachroim*," says that Fineen was influenced by the circumstance that Crom was his foster brother. This is a baseless conjecture. Dr. O'Donovan, who put together every ancient reference to Crom, says nothing about this; neither does any *Annalist*.

prefer, as in previous pages, to follow both as to the facts and the date, the contemporary Annalist rather than the compiler of A.D. 1765.

As Innisbheil or Phale is at a considerable distance beyond the boundary of Kinelmeky, it is probable that the district extending on to the west from Phale to Drimoleague had not ceased to belong to the Kinelmeky Sept before the conflict above mentioned, nor perhaps for some time after. The statement that Gleannchroim,⁴ which nearly coincided with the parish of Fanlobbus, was before this time in the possession of Crom O'Donovan, rests on no authority but the unsupported assertion of John Collins, of Myross, in his *Pedigree of the O'Donovans*, a compilation abounding in errors, and completely discarded by Dr. O'Donovan in his account of that clan even in the more recent period of the 16th century. This particular assertion of Collins⁵ is discredited by his representing Crom O'Donovan as living in A.D. 1120, and possessing Gleannchroim before his tribe removed from the Co. Limerick. Dr. O'Brien's account (see ante, p. 78) is that the tribe passed over Mangerton and entered West Cork, and obtained land from the tribes there by "the powerful assistance of the O'Mahonys," who certainly would not help them to obtain Gleannchroim, which was their own,⁶ being between the traditional boundaries "Cork and the Mizen Head." Collins was influenced by a mistaken derivation of the place-name Gleann Chroim. But, as Dr. Joyce observes, "the name Crom (genitive Chruim and Chroim) enters into the composition of numerous words." It would be strange if it did not, as Crom (Cruach) was the chief idol of Pagan Ireland. Thus we find Domnach Chroim, the name of a Sunday in summer coinciding with a Pagan festival, and Cluain Chruim in Westmeath, "the mead of Crom," &c., &c. Crom as an adjective also helps to form compounds, as Cruimgleann, a winding glen (Dinneen's Irish Dict.), from which word most probably Gleann chroim originated, the place of the adjective being reversed, as happened in the progress of the language in numerous instances as Dubh-abhainn and Abhainn-dubh, Dubh gaill and Gaill-dubh, Ma'an Innis and Innis Ma'an.

East Muskerry ceased to belong to the Chief of Raithleann, descendant of Mahon, when De Cogan in about 1177 succeeded in seizing Dun Draighneain, the site of Castlemore, but West Muskerry, or a district of it comprising the parishes of Kilmichael, Kilmurry, and part of Moviddy, and containing sixty-three ploughlands, was retained for more than another century. The proof of this statement is that there were three divisions of the district, Clan Fineen, Clan Cnogher, and Ui Flon Lua, the two former being called after the grandsons of Dermot Mor and his brother, and the third allocated to the great-grandson of the former. From the

⁴ The name Gleannchroim does not occur in any Irish MS. We have adopted the spelling given by Florence Mac Carthy Reagh in his letters. The name Cluaincruim is erroneously translated by Dr. Joyce.

⁵ Collins lacked "the historic sense," and was more at home in poetry. His splendid poem on Timoleague Abbey made an impression on Clarence Mangan and Sir S. Ferguson, both of whom gave an English translation of it.

⁶ Windele has the following statement, which is a traditional account, not in any of the hitherto known records, and not free from anachronisms, but which may have some foundation in fact:—"An O'Mahony (whom he calls Cian) endowed his daughter, the wife of O'Coghlan, with one hundred ploughlands in Fanlobbus; O'Coghlan gave these ploughlands (recte thirty-two) to Diarmuid O'Crowley, whose three sons were O'Crowley Buidhe, O'Crowley Bacach, and O'Crowley Reagh." Windele MSS., R. I. Acad.

genealogical list, it is plain that these allocations must have been made after A.D. 1300, and they could not be made then, if the district had passed out of the possession of the Chief of Kinelmecky.

East Muskerry, on the death of De Cogan in 1182, passed into the possession of what was afterwards known as the Blarney branch of the Mac Carthys, but they were unable to annex the West Muskerry district until they brought down from Donegal a portion of the Mac Sweeney galloglasses (between A.D. 1310 and 1320), who received for their services lands, on which they built the castles of Cloghdha and Mashanaglas.⁷ But the three families or minor septs, above mentioned, continued (as we shall show) as freeholders, subject to a small head rent, down to the confiscations of 1642.

Thus, at the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century the authority of the Chief of Kinelmecky did not extend beyond the boundaries of the barony that at present bears that name. It is described in an Inquisition of A.D. 1586 as "twelve miles in length," and within it were the parishes of Templemartin, Kilbrogan, Kilowen, and parts of Ballymodan, Brinny, Murragh, and Desertserges. Its sixty-three ploughlands contained nearly thirty-six thousand acres, estimated as twenty-eight thousand, without measurement, at the time of the confiscation. From the fertility of the soil, it must have been capable of maintaining a larger population than some of the western tribelands that had nominally a much larger number of ploughlands. It was described by Lord Burleigh in 1578 as "a proper territory," and the very same words were used, with more minute details, giving evidence of its fertility, about ten years afterwards by Robert Payne,⁸ an agent of the undertakers, in a small book or pamphlet that he wrote about the confiscated territories. In a Government return, of 1659, of the "profitable" and "unprofitable" acres of the different baronies, the "unprofitable portion of this barony was set down as *nil*."⁹

From the time of the division into the Eastern and Western Septs, for over three centuries, Kinelmecky was a Celtic outpost. From the junction of the Brinny river with the Bandon, one might travel almost in a direct line to Mitchelstown and the Galtees, and look in vain for a single Irish tribe.

In the earlier portion of the thirteenth century the Norman invaders

⁷ This is the received opinion, but in the "Munster Annals" above quoted there is an entry under 1237: "Cormac Fionn, son of Donal Mor na Curra Mac Carthy, died in his Castle of Mashanaglas." It may have been afterwards rebuilt. This entry shows the early date at which the Irish chiefs had begun to build castles, after the Norman invasion.

⁸ The full title is "A brief description of Ireland to XXV. of his partners for whom he is undertaker, by Robert Payne, A.D. 1590," edited by Dr. Aquila Smith, and published in vol. ii. of "Tracts relating to Ireland." He complains of the dishonest conduct of the English "undertakers" to those whom they enticed over from England to occupy the confiscated estates. He says that owing to the fruitfulness of the soil of Kinelmecky, Beecher got more tenants than any two in Munster.

⁹ Boyle (Earl of Cork) describes all the district near Bandon as "a mere waste of wood and bog serving as a retreat for wood kerns, rebels, thieves, and wolves." Cox has transcribed and adopted this account, so totally at variance with the above quoted authorities. Much change could not have been effected between 1619 and 1659. It was a favourite trick of the unvarnished Boyle to represent the lands he acquired as worthless. See in Gibson's "Hist of Cork" (vol. ii., pp. 31 and 37) his attempt to persuade Sir Walter Raleigh's son that the lands of his father (Sir Walter), which Boyle had contrived to acquire for a trifle, were all "utterly waste and yielded him no profit."

began to systematically build castles to secure their acquisitions and facilitate further aggression. It was the advice of Giraldus "to imitate the example of Turges and his Ostmen, and sow Ireland with castles so situated that their occupants could assist each other." In 1215 ¹⁰ (O'Donovan's note, *Annals of Four Masters*) a large number of castles had been erected in Munster, especially on the southern coast. It must soon have become apparent to the Chief of Kinelmeky that a primitive fort such as Rath Rathleann, the headquarters of the chiefs, his ancestors, for so many centuries, would not afford protection in case of a Norman invasion of the territory, and that a stronghold of the new type should be provided without delay. Hence we may conclude that Castle Lac (Cairteán na Leachtá) must have been built not very long after 1215. About a mile and a half south of Rath Rathleann a site was selected adjoining the small plain which has been shown (supra p. 18) to have been the battlefield on which the victory was gained over the Danes in 1089. Windele, who visited the place in 1856, writes:—"To the west of the standing stones is the site of the castle which gives its present name to the place in conjunction with the Leachts. The ruins are low, and form almost a mound so as to present few features of the castellated structure. It was a solitary square tower, and from the dimensions it would seem to have been a 'peel house' (or 'peel tower'). It was erected in an ancient fort which has survived it in its moat and rampart."¹¹ The old structure had been used as a quarry when a mill was built in its vicinity towards the end of the eighteenth century. Castle Mahon was more recent than Castle Lac, and was of a much better type; the exact date of its erection is not known, but it cannot have been later than A.D. 1400, as the necessity for a castle south of the Bandon River must have been felt in the troublous days of the preceding century. We may readily believe that in that period of intense aggression on the part of the grantees of Henry the Second's Charter and of their representatives, the clan did not preserve its existence without much hard fighting. In 1359 the son of a chieftain, Tadhg, who from his place in the Genealogical Table must have flourished at that date, fell in battle, doubtless against some invader of the tribeland, according to the entry in the *Annals of Loch Ce*:—"Donal Mac Tadhg O'Mahouna occisus est."¹²

Barry Og, lord of Kinelea (separated from Kinelmeky by the river Mughin or Brinny river) had, or claimed to have, a piece of parchment giving him a title to Kinelmeky. The "title"¹³ was obtained from De

¹⁰ Castles were built in Ireland long before the Normans came. An O'Connor of Connacht was called "Tadhg of the three towers" in 954, and his grandson, "Tadhg of the Tower" in 1009. In 1124 three castles were built (*Annals Four M.*), and besides there was "Hags Castle" in Lough Mask, which still exists. The original Norman castles or "Peel Towers," with an entrance door to the first floor, were places of refuge not much differing, for that purpose, from the Round Towers of Ireland.

¹¹ Windele on the same occasion visited Rath Rathleann, without being able to identify it as Cian's Fort, but he inferred from its great size that it was a Riogh Rath or Royal Rath. He did not happen to meet local shanachies who could tell him the traditions about the Rath and Castle Lac.

¹² The *Annals Four Masters* have two entries—one that Donal "died," the other that he "was killed." The latter is confirmed by the *Annals of Loch Ce*.

¹³ See "Records of the Barrys" by Rev. E. Barry, who shows that De Courcey claimed a head rent from Barry Og as his feudal superior. In an Inquisition dated 1373, Milo De Courcey is set down as the owner of Kinelea, held by Philip Fitzwilliam Barry, The Barry Og. (Rotulorum patent, et claus, Cal., Dublin, 1828.)

Courcy as the representative of De Cogan, who was authorised by Henry II. to rob, if he could, the native proprietors of "one moiety of the kingdom of Cork." In Smith's *History of Cork* mention is made of an Inquisition held after the death of William De Barry, among whose possessions, held from De Courcy, are set down Kinelmeky and Ifflanloe (Ui Flon Lua in West Muskerry). But neither in Kinelmeky nor in Ifflanloe was any of the line of Barry Og able to acquire a foothold. Indeed the Kinelmeky Sept cannot have found the Kinelea pretender a formidable opponent, as the Barry Og of 1578, who had the same resources as his predecessors, is described by Lord Burleigh as a "poor beggarly Captayne of the land between Cork and Kinsale, called Kynoley" (Kinelea).

In the year 1400, if not somewhat earlier, the Connacht bard O'Heerin¹⁴ composed his topographical poem descriptive of the numerous tribelands of Leath Mogha, as Leinster and Munster were then called. To obtain the information oral and written that he required for such an exhaustive description he must, of course, have made the circuit of the two provinces. As he died in 1420 (*Annals F. M.*) at an advanced age, as O'Reilly discovered, we may fairly fix on 1400 as about the latest year in which he would be physically capable of such a laborious peregrination. We are not to suppose that in this circuit he visited *all* tribe lands, for he describes some of them vaguely and some erroneously. But the minutely accurate description that he gave of Kinelmeky suggests that he wrote from actual observation:—

Cinel m-Bece an fúinn ealaig
 Imon Bandon m-báin-geadaig
 Fear ar cathbada ón Muaidh Mí
 O Maighanna an cuain chuigil.

TRANSLATION (Dr. Donovan).

"Cinel mBece the land of cattle
 Around the Bandon of fair woods
 A most warlike man from the rapid Muaidh
 Is O'Mahouna of the harbour of white foam."

The territory is here described as on "both sides" of the Bandon, "of fair woods"—an epithet anticipating Spenser's "crowned with many a wood"—and the river opens out not far beyond the eastern boundary into "the harbour of white foam." He does not omit to notice the small river Muaidh, since known by its diminutive form Muaidhin (pr. Muaghin, written by Smith Mughin), which is the eastern boundary of Kinelmeky. These are minute descriptive touches. He shows that he was aware that there was another Sept of the name in the west, about which he has also a quatrain.

In this connection it will be convenient to mention some place names in the tribeland that preserve the memory of some ancestors of the Sept. The principal place-name is, of course, Kinelmeky itself, the spelling of which, in Irish, is correctly given in O'Heerin's quatrain. With reference to Smith's attempted derivation, which Bennett repeated, Dr.

¹⁴ Topographical Poems of O'Dugan and O'Heerin, Ed., J. O'Donovan, LL.D., 1862.

O'Donovan¹⁵ writes :—"Nothing can be more erroneous than Smith's derivation of the name in his *History of Cork*. It is taken altogether from the English spelling, and shows that he never saw the word in the original Irish. The genealogy of the O'Mahonys is traced up from Conn, son of Diarmuid Mor of Ivagha (1320) through twenty-four generations to Bec (or Bece), in the seventh century." Cox thus alludes to two other well-known place names :—"From this Kean (Cian, father of Mahon) was called Enniskean, and from Droghid i Mahoun Bandon Bridge" (*Regnum Corcagiense*). Droghid Ui Mahouna, "O'Mahon's bridge," was also called by Irish speakers "An droighid," The Bridge, a name indicating the great rarity of bridges at the time it was built. Curravreeda, "the enclosure of the hostages," carries us back (as also does Lisbanree) to the ninth and tenth centuries; Gurteen O'Mahon is still the name of a townland, and another is called Gurteen Conogher Og in some title deeds of the seventeenth century.

The Lords of Kinsale might be supposed to be interested in Barry Og's pretensions, as they were his feudal superiors. Nevertheless between them and the Kinelmeky Chieftains no dissension appears to have arisen after the twelfth century, and about 1450 there was a connection by marriage. In Lodge's *Peerage* (Archdall's Edition) we find the following (s. v. Kingsale, Baron) :—"Nicholas De Courcey, twelfth Baron of Kinsale, married Mor,¹⁶ daughter of O'Mahon, chief of his sept and descended from Corc, King of Munster." This O'Mahon was Donal (son of Dermot, and ninth in descent from Donogh Na Himerce O'M.), whom Duaid Mac Firbis, in his *Book of Munster*, sets down as a contemporary of his western cousin, Donogh O'M., Chief of Ivagha. As the latter succeeded in 1427 (the date of his father's death, *Annals Four M.*), and died in 1473 (*Annals of Loch Ce*), we can thus determine the time of Donal of Kinelmeky. In the above quotation from Lodge's *Peerage* we have substituted the true name, Mor, for Lodge's "Maurya," a female name not in use in the fifteenth century in Ireland. Dr. O'Donovan says :—"Mor was the name of many ladies in Elizabeth's time. In our own times it has been almost invariably Anglicised Mary, with which it is neither synonymous or cognate." (Preface to O'Dugan and O'Heerin). The twelfth Lord Kinsale died in 1474, and the following obit is taken from the *Liber Fratrum Minorum de Timolagge* :—"Ob. Nich. De Courcey suae nationis caput, vir Pracclarus." James, his son and successor, died in 1499, according to another obit of the same book. These extracts are found in Ware's Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (classed Rawlinson 479).

In view of the long array of ancient records that have been set forth in the course of this History from the sixth century down to O'Heerin's circuit in A.D. 1400, showing that Kinelmeky, named after their ancestor, was the cradle and the home of the O'Mahony Sept, it is unnecessary to notice at all Bennett's statement in his *History of Bandon* (first Ed.) that

¹⁵ In a letter to Dr. Aquila Smith (Editor of Payne's work, above quoted), who had asked for information as to the derivation of the place name.

¹⁶ The name "Mor" is contained in the Kinelmeky place-name Curravordy, "the house of dark Mor" (corr. *ḏó ḏóir ḡuibé*).



BATTLEFIELD OF CAISLEAN NA LEACHTA (A.D. 1088.)
(Square Rath, on which are remains of Castle, in background.)

the Sept "came originally from Carbery, and intruded, about the year 1460, on Kinelmeky, which then belonged to the English Crown, and gave half of it to Mac Carthy Reagh for his assistance." But it may be of interest to show what kind of history was manufactured about Irish tribes in the time of Elizabeth. That falsehood was doubtless suggested by the appellation "Carbery" or "of Carbery" attached to the name of the chief—an appellation misunderstood by those who were unacquainted with the peculiarities of Irish nomenclature, and unaware that Kinelmeky, on its western side, included a portion of the territory known from ancient times as "Carbery." When preparing for his second edition, Bennett had some perception of the absurdity of the statement he had so uncritically received, and sought to modify it into a less extravagant assertion, viz., that the Clan had been dislodged from Kinelmeky, their ancient patrimony, and *returned* to it 1460. But that is not the assertion of the authority that he followed, the Inquisition held in Cork in 1584, as quoted in Cox's *History of Ireland*, p. 383. The English colonists of Cork, who were the "Juratores" in that Inquisition, meant to say that "O'Mahown Carbry" began to occupy Kinelmeky for the first time in the above-mentioned year. Having put forward this unhistorical statement, they then proceeded to stultify themselves by deciding that, nevertheless, Conogher, the Chief who fell in the Desmond Insurrection, was owner of (not half but) the whole Barony of Kinelmeky, having somehow acquired a valid title to land that 120 years before was "the ancient inheritance of the Crown." They were as ignorant of English Law as of the history of the Irish tribe, or they would have known that their law recognised no "acquisitive prescription of land" that was known to have belonged to another even in the previous century.

Their "history" was adopted by none of their contemporaries. Two years afterwards it was completely ignored at the Youghal Inquisition (held regarding the same Chief and other participators in the insurrection), which simply decided that Conogher O'Mahony "died seized of the fee of the Barony of Kinelmeky." The decision was, of course, unjust to the members of the Clan, who held land by the same right as their Head, but it clearly implied that the Chief held by *unbroken* and *immemorial* possession. Four years afterwards, Bishop Lyon, in a letter which will presently be quoted at greater length, wrote that the Sept of the "O'Mahownies" were "ancient in Kinelmeky as Mac Carthy Reagh in Carbery." In the numerous State papers about Kinelmeky between 1584 and 1600, no notice at all is taken of the alleged "intrusion on Crown Land in 1460," though, if provable, it would summarily dispose of all the points raised against the confiscation and transfer to Beecher.¹⁷

¹⁷ The text of the Inquisition, given by Cox, is as follows:—"That Kinelmeky was the ancient inheritance of the Crown, and Barry Og (Farmer of it—i.e., lessee) paid the rent to the Exchequer; that O'Mahown Carbry intruded on it, and gave Mac Carthy Reagh half for protection. That Conogher O'Mahown was slain in the Earl of Desmond's rebellion, and died seized of the Seignory of Kinelmeky." The concoctors of the above did not know that Barry Og derived his claim to all that he possessed, or pretended to, from De Courcey, Lord Kinsale; that therefore he held no right "from the Crown," and paid no rent to the Exchequer. The falsehood about the division of Kinelmeky is easily shown by comparing the present Kinelmeky with the Deanery of "Kinelea Ultra," already described. As has been stated in a previous page, there was no change in the area of Kinelmeky since the time of Donal Gott Mac Carthy,

The fact is that pages might be filled with the mis-statements made about the past history of Irish tribes by English colonists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus, the citizens of Cork, in a doleful letter written in 1449 to the Lord Deputy, inform him that "all the Irish of the South had been driven into the valley of Glennahought, between two great mountains, and there they lived many years as best they could with their white meats, until the English Lords fell at variance with one another," and then the Irish returned to their tribelands! Camden, followed by a writer of the Herald Office in 1600, asserted that it was "from Carew the O'Mahons received their land of Ivagha"—which has been proved to have been in possession of their ancestors four centuries before Carew's time. Spenser¹⁸ believed that the Mac Mahons and Mac Sweenys were descendants of Englishmen, Fitzurses and De Veres, who translated their names into Irish. Davies wrote that when the English took possession of the Pale all the Irish were expelled—a statement that Hardiman easily disproves, the fact being that the Irish retook possession of much of the original "Pale." Davies also asserts that no Irish chiefs built castles until they renounced Tanistry and adopted the English tenure—that is, that they built none until the 16th century! Only a very uncritical writer would think of making use of such authorities as the foregoing at the present time, when "criticism of one's sources" is regarded as the first duty of a historian.

The successor of Donal was his son Dermot Spáineach, "The Spanish," so called in the genealogies, as having served in his youth in the Spanish army, for some time, during that eventful period of the war with the Moors. Dermot's successor was his son Finghin. Towards the close of the century the *Annals of Loch Ce* have an entry under the year 1492 of the death of Finghin—"fingín O Matgamna oēs." This is, of course, the entry of a chieftain's death, and the date distinguishes him from the contemporary Finghin "of the Western Land," who, according to the same Annals and the Four Masters, lived until 1496.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. "the country," says Mr. Gibson,¹⁹ "all but passed out of the hands of the English Monarch." There is no exaggeration in this statement. In the London State Paper Office there is a report of the state of Ireland compiled in the year 1515, which shows that the Pale had dwindled to portions of five counties, in which, moreover, the majority of the inhabitants were Irish. It proceeds to say that the greater part of Ireland was in the hands of the "Irish enemy," and divided into "sixty regions, some as large as shires, some more, some less, under a many captaynes, who obey no temporal person but him who is strong"—which the English King was *not*, as Surrey, a Lord Lieutenant in 1520, informed him in plain language. The report commences with the "regions and captaynes of Mounster," and beginning with Mac Carthy More, it mentions "O'Mahunde of Fousheragh (Fonn Iartharach, Ivagha), Chief Captayne of his nation," and

1232. Mac Carthy Reagh, in his letter to the Privy Council, 1588, so far from endorsing the "history" given in the Inquisition, subverts its fundamental assertion about the "ancient inheritance of the Crown."

¹⁸ Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," accepts the Cork letter of 1449 as a trustworthy record.

¹⁹ Hist. of Cork, vol. i., p. 112.

"O'Mahund of Kynalmeke, Chief Captayne of his nation." "Nation" was but another name for sept; there was no Irish nation in the modern sense of the term. The writer of the report shows how incomplete was the knowledge that English officials had of the Southern tribes, for he omitted to make mention of O'Sullivan Mor, O'Donoghue of the Glens, O'Donovan, O'Keeffe, and Mac Auliffe. The name "Irish Enemy" used in the report, as in all previous Acts of the Parliament of the Pale, was an accurately descriptive term, but, not long afterwards, the officials of the English Crown began to substitute for it the appellation of "rebels and traitors." The use of those names involved the arrogant assumption that those of the Irish who (like the two Septs whose history is here given) did not welcome an extension of English rule, owed, somehow, allegiance to a foreign king, too weak to perform the fundamental duty of keeping order, and disposed, like his predecessors, to carry out, if he got strong enough, the wholesale spoliation projected by Henry II.

The English power had considerably increased in 1541, not so much through any military successes as through dissensions in Munster. In that year the Lord Deputy St. Leger was sent over with special instructions to get the Irish Chiefs and Anglo-Irish nobles to acknowledge Henry VIII. as their "natural and liege lord" and as "supreme head of the Church in England and Ireland." In pursuance of his mission, St. Leger came to Cork, and his summons was obeyed by the three Barrys, five Irish Chiefs of the Co. Cork, and two of Kerry, who, if the Indenture given in Cox's *History* be authentic,²⁰ subscribed their names to the Declaration required of them. The Chief of Kinelmeke did not attend, neither did Connor Fionn, the head of the kindred Sept of Ivagha, nor his neighbours O'Driscoll and O'Donovan.

In 1551, as a State Paper informs us, when the Earl of Desmond visited the new Lord Deputy Crofts in Dublin, he found that the latter had resolved to call before him the Earl's son and Maurice, the Earl's brother "for preys taken from the O'Mahons," i.e., from those of Kinelmeke, which was easily invaded from Kerricurrihy, a Desmond possession, whereas the Western O'Mahons were practically inaccessible. The Lord Deputy cared little about the interests of an Irish tribe which had shown no loyalty, but it was a matter of State policy not to allow attacks to be made without permission on the "Irish enemy," and an Act of Parliament had been passed to that effect. For over three centuries, but especially since 1487, the Earls of Desmond and their immediate relatives had been harassing and plundering the Irish of South Munster, not, however, with impunity, for they were often repulsed²¹ with great slaughter. Thomas Davis, in his splendid but unhistorical poem on "The Geraldines," has thrown a glamour over the whole line of ruthless marauders, on

²⁰ Doubts have been expressed as to the authenticity of the clause in the Indenture acknowledging Henry as Head of the Church in Ireland, and discarding expressly the authority of the Pope. See "Records of the Barrys" on this point. It is certain that all the signatories (and their sons who succeeded them) lived and died members of the Catholic Church, and were never accused of having renounced their Creed.

²¹ As at Mourne Abbey in 1520 by Mac Carthy of Muskerry, at Innishannon in 1560 by Turlough Mac Sweeny and his gallowglasses in the pay of Mac Carthy Reagh, and in 1564, when Maurice, "the Freebooter," or Maurice Dubh, brother of the Earl, was killed in one of his forays in Muskerry. Mr. Gibson gives a good account of the incessant forays of the Desmond branch of the Geraldines.

account of the part taken by James Fitzmaurice, Earl Garret, and the "Sugán" Earl in the national movement in the time of Elizabeth.

In 1568 Sir Peter Carew came over from England to prosecute his claim to "one half of the Kingdom of Cork" as heir to Fitzstephen, one of the grantees of the Charter of Henry II. He produced a forged roll, which was received as evidence setting forth that "Fitzstephen's moiety contained Imokilly, Tyr Barry (Barry's country), Tyr Courcey (Courcey's country), Muskerry, Kinelmeky, Carbery, Ivagha, and the countries of O'Driscoll and O'Donovan," with some other districts in Kerry. "The corrupt Government of the day," says O'Donovan,²² "allowed the ludicrous claim—the claim of a collateral branch to be heirs of a bastard—in order to frighten the Earl of Desmond and the Irish chiefs." We hear nothing about the progress of his case until 1575. Cox, who carefully avoids stating whether there was any decision given in favour of Carew or not, relates that in 1575 "Sir Peter sent his agent, John Hooker, to Cork, where he had a solemn meeting with Mac Carthy Reagh, Cormac Mac Teig of Muskerry, Barry Og, O'Mahon, O'Driscoll, and others, and that they made this proposal to him, that they would advance three thousand kine with sheep, hogs and corn proportionable for the present; and that if Sir Peter would live among them they would pay a rent that would be reasonable; whereupon Hooker took a house for Sir Peter at Cork and another in Kinsale, but as Sir Peter was going that way he died in Wexford, Nov. 1575." Cox's account has been transcribed and adopted by Smith and Gibson in their *County Histories*. It may be that those chieftains resolved to submit to the inevitable. But it was certainly not credible that they displayed such abject servility as to *stipulate* that the man who came to carry out the long-deferred spoliation arranged by Henry II. should do them the favour of living among them. We can now compare Cox's narration, derived apparently from hearsay, with that of a first hand authority, the agent Hooker himself, whose original MS. has been published by Mr. MacLean in his *Life of Sir P. Carew*. Hooker, alias Vowell, says:—"And forthwith they all, the Lord Courcey, Lord Barry Oge, McArthy Riogh, the O'Mahons, McSweyne, O'Driscoll, O'Daly and sundry did conclude with this agent that they would submit their lands to Sir P. Carew and take same at a reasonable rent. And for that that was past they would give 3,000 kine, which they accounted to be one year's rent of the lands they did hold. The Earl of Desmond, the Lord Courcey, the Lord Roch, and Sir Cormac Mac Teig pretended great joy at Sir Peter's coming to live among them," but before any rent was paid Sir Peter died of a short and painful illness. But a serious objection may be raised against the agent's narrative. If there was such a compact as he mentions, it would have been duly reduced to writing, and could have been enforced by Sir George Carew, when he became his brother's heir on the death of his nephew at the skirmish of Glenmalure. He has never been considered to be so indifferent to his own interests as to be capable of renouncing such a vast income. If Lord Courcey took part in that compact with the agent, then the title deeds by which Cogan was said to have conveyed Courcey's Country and Kinelea to his ancestor are clearly proved to be mythical.

²² *Annals Four M.*, vol. v., p. 1,738, note, where there is reference to the forged roll.

The O'Mahon at this date, and for some years previously, was Finghin (Fineen), son of Maolmuadh, who appears to have succeeded his brother Cian by Tanist law. He was married to a sister of Mac Carthy Reagh. His name in the Latinized form, "Florentius O'Mahowney de O'Mahoone-Castle, gen. [erosus]," occurs in the "Inquisition held after the death of Sir Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh," written in the "Law Latin" of the time, in June, 1576. In 1575, when Sir Henry Sidney, the conciliatory Lord Deputy, took up his residence in Cork for six weeks, he was visited by the Southern Chiefs generally, even by those who had made no declaration of allegiance, and had no intention of renouncing their status and adopting the English tenure. He wrote an account of his visitors, by many of whom he was favourably impressed, and he was considering a plan for attaching to the English Crown, by a distribution of titles, "those of them not yet nobilitated." His letter may be seen, in extenso, in Gibson's *History of Cork*, vol. i., p. 226. After mentioning several of the Irish "who in respect of their lands might pass as Barons in England or Ireland," he continues:—"O'Kyffe and Mac Fynnen, and the sons and heirs of Mac Auly and O'Callaghan, the old men not being able to come by reason of age. O'Mahon and O'Driscoll,²³ each of them, have land enough, with good order²⁴ to live like a Baron here or there. Of those descended of the English race Sir James Fitzgerald, &c., &c." It appears that only one of the O'Mahons attended, and it is impossible to determine which of the two is referred to in the above extract. Certain it is that neither of them, as their subsequent history shows, was influenced by a desire of obtaining an English title. Two years afterwards O'Mahon of Carbery was engaged in some proceeding which brought him into collision with the English Government, but the nature of which is not set forth in the Calendar of State Papers. In the record of the Fiant, 1577, we find:—"Pardon to Owen McCarthy Reagh, of Kilbrittain; Donal Mac Carthy, of Kilgobbin; Florence O'Mahowne, called O'Mahown Carberie, and Dermot O'Mahowne, of same place." In the same year, Fiant No. 3,039 has the following:—"O'Mahowne Carberie is suitor for the pardon of twenty-five of his men."

This is the proper occasion for exposing two mis-statements and mis-quotations of Mr. Bennett in his *History of Bandon*. "When Sir H. Sidney," he says, "visited Cork in 1575, one of those who visited him was O'Mahony, whom he represents as 'a man of small force, though a proper country.'" He found no such passage in Sir H. Sidney's letter. It occurs in a letter of Lord Burleigh's, in which also is found a depreciatory reference to Barry Og, quoted in a former page, and a querulous disparagement of several heads of Septs. But what would Burleigh call "a small force"? Mr. Bennett proceeds to make the description definite and precise:—"The chief of Castle-Mahon was not a powerful chief, for . . . it is recorded that his forces were twenty-six horse and one

²³ Dr. W. A. Copinger, in his notes to the new Ed. of Smith's *Cork* (vol. ii. of this Journal, p. 162), professes to give Sir H. Sidney's letter, and transcribes it accurately until he comes to the name "O'Driscoll," after which he places a full stop, and without any indication of omission, suppresses what follows in the same sentence and passes on to "Of those descended from the English," &c. Any such manipulation of historical documents should be discountenanced, even in matters of great importance.

²⁴ Mr. Gibson does not say from what original he quoted; the Calendar of Carew MSS. has "to live like a knight."

hundred and twenty kerne." Now this is a mere invention. There is no such record in the State Papers or histories of the time. Bennett had no hesitation about supplying the want. He saw in a report of Carew's that the Western O'Mahon had seventy-two horse and two hundred and twenty kerne, but that under that chief's immediate command there were "twenty-six horse and one hundred and twenty kerne," the remainder being mustered by his cousin and subordinate, O'Mahon of Brin (Rossbrin). The "twenty-six horses and one hundred and twenty kerne" the historian transfers from the west and assigns to the Chief of Kinelmeky. This ingenious method of manufacturing history is hardly calculated to inspire his readers with confidence in his other statements and quotations. We will show in a subsequent page that the Clan, though weakened by its losses in the Desmond war, was able in 1601 to muster three hundred fighting men at about two hours' notice.

Fifteen died in the beginning of 1579, leaving four sons, Conogher, his successor, and three others, to whom he bequeathed the three ploughlands which constituted the parish of Killowen.

Conogher O'Mahony succeeded to the chieftainship at the early age of twenty-three (as tradition tells) in the troubled and eventful year 1579. He was not, as the phrase ran, the "eldest and the best man of the blood," who usually succeeded almost as a matter of course, but he was eligible according to Tanist Law, and either his own personal qualities, or his deceased father's popularity in the Clan, secured his succession. In 1579, after the death of Sir James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, the Earl of Desmond, after some vacillation, put himself at the head of the movement against Elizabeth, initiated and organised by his deceased kinsman. It has been called the Desmond "Rebellion," but from the point of view of the Irish Chiefs who took part in it, it was simply a continuation or renewal of the warfare that had for centuries been waged between the foreign invaders and the "Irish enemy," to whom an additional stimulus had been supplied by the enforcement of the persecuting Statute of 1559. Some nobles and heads of Septs did not openly take up arms, but all, without exception,²⁵ actively sympathised with the insurrection to an extent that was not known before the publication of Sir W. Pelham's letters. Kinelmeky had been ravaged by members of the House of Desmond, but past grievances were forgotten in the great crisis which had arrived. The young chieftain responded to the general call to arms, and led his clansmen to the rendezvous at Ballyhoura on the ninth of August, 1579.²⁶ It is stated by Bennett that he fell in 1582, but further research is necessary to discover the time and place of his death, as also of the death of O'Donoghue Mor and some other leading men among the Irish. A State Paper refers

²⁵ Even that paragon of loyalty, Sir Cormac Mac Teig Mac Carthy, was thought to "draw two ways," and so Pelham took him to Limerick with fifteen other chiefs and Anglo-Irish gentlemen "who inclined towards the traitors." (Letter to Council in England, July, 1580.) Among the fifteen was Sir Owen Mac Carthy Reagh, who according to Warham St. Leger, "had as cankered a mind as any of them to the English Government, and would be in rebellion if he durst."

²⁶ These particulars are stated in the Youghal Inquisition of 1586: "Item dicunt quod Conohor O'Mahowneye, nuper de Kinealmeykye. seisitus fuit de feodo, de Castello, etc., et de omnibus terris, etc., eidem spectantium pertinentibus in Comitatu Cork, continentibus in longitudine circiter duodena milliarium, et sic seisitus existens, intravit in rebellionem apud Ballyhawry, nono die Augusti, anno dictae Dom Reginae nunc vicesimo secundo.

to an "Inquisition taken at Cork in 1584 of the lands of Conogher O'Mahown, traitor, slain in rebellion." He was no traitor, at all events, to the cause of his own race and country.

(To be continued.)

[The writer desires to take this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to Mr. Peirce G. Mahony, B.L., Cork Herald, for the help he has kindly given by sending copies of several Inquisitions and other manuscript records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.]

"In Itineribus Saepe."

Bishop Dive Downes' Visitation of his Diocese, 1699.

(Continued from page 74.)

EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY T. A. LUNHAM.

I staid Friday, Aug. 11, 1699. I staid at Bantry and was at Whidy Island. On Saturday, Aug. 12, I left Bantry and went to Skibbareen. The chapel at Skibbareen was formerly the market house, consecrated about the year 1686 by Dr. Wetenhall, Bp. of Corke,⁹ it stands in the parish of Abbystrowry. A burying place consecrated near the town. There is no burying place about the chappel. The chappel built of thin stones like slates. The Macarthys, the O'Sullivans, and the O'Donovans were the old proprietors of Carbery and Bere and Bantry.

Skibbareen is the estate of Colonel Beecher and Colonel Townsend. The land for three miles before you come to Skibbareen from Bantry is pretty good.

I preacht at Skibbareen on Sunday, Aug. 13, 1699. I lodged at my Lady Catherine Barclay's house in Skibbareen.

Creagh Church ruinous, stands 3 miles to the S.W. of Skibbareen. Affadown Church stands to the N.W. of Skibbareen at 3 miles distance.

The parishes of Creagh and Abbystrowry meet at Skibbareen. They are divided by the river.

Affadown parish comes within a mile of Skibbareen to the westward. The ruin of the church of Affadown stands near the river of Skibbareen

⁹ Wetenhall was educated under Busby at Westminster, from whence he was elected a Scholar of Trin. Coll., Cambridge. Afterwards he removed to Oxford, and became M.A. of Linc. Coll. He accompanied Michael Boyle to Ireland, was Chanter of Ch. Church, Dublin, Bp. of Kilmore and Ardagh, and in 1678 was translated to Cork. He is thus referred to by Dean Davies, when describing the siege of Cork:—"Whereupon the enemy let the Bishop come out to us, whom they made prisoner in the city, with all the clergy, and about one thousand three hundred of the Protestants, and towards evening they beat a parley and came to a treaty," &c. *Journal of Dean Davies*, p. 154 (Camden Society, 1857). A list of his writings is given in Anthony Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. iv., p. 561 (ed. Bliss).

(which is called the Island river), $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Skibbareen, over against the church of Creagh. Divine Service 1 Sunday in 3 by Mr. Bousfield, and 1 Sunday in 3 by Mr. Trix in the chappel in Skibbareen. Generally about 100 persons at church on Sundays. No seats but one in the church. There is a pulpit, but no Communion table.

Mr. Trix preaches generally 2 Sundays in 3 at Baltimore or Shirkin, in the parish of Tullogh, and the 3rd Sunday at Skibbareen. The chappel at Skibbareen was repaired lately. Both parishes were assest £12 os. od. for the repairs. The ruins of Abbystrowry by the river side within half a mile of Skibbareen, on the west of the river. The Sacrament at Skibbareen 3 times in a year. Mr. Trix lives within half a mile of Skibbareen.

In Abbystrowry parish about 18 plowlands. In Creagh parish about 27 plowlands. A convert teaches Latin at Skibbareen.

As you go down the river that runs by Skibbareen, called Isla River, about a mile from Skibbareen lyes on the east side of the river 9 gneeves of Dresheen, and on the west 3 gneives belonging to the See of Rosse. Good lands and good improvements.

About 2 miles from Skibbareen, on the south-east side of the river, are the ruins of the church of Creagh. Good land and well improved. Innisbegclary, an island over against the church.

Affadown Church ruinous. Mr. Bousfield preaches in his own house at Affadown 2 Sundays in three, and the 3rd Sunday at Skibbareen. The walls of Affadown Church stand on the north-west side of the river. Affadown 2 plowlands, with $3\frac{1}{2}$ more, belong to the See of Rosse, and good lands, well improved by Col. Beecher. There was a very good house at Affadown, but it was burnt in the late troubles.

Ardraly lyes by the river side betwixt Skibbareen and Affadown. Indifferent good lands. Belongs to the See of Rosse. Set to Mr. Bousfield, who has a house upon it.

Ardagh lyes S.W. of Affadown, $\frac{1}{2}$ a plowland. Indifferent good lands. Belongs to the See of Rosse.

Tullogh Church is opposite to Donegall Island, on the south-east side of the river. The church is ruinous. It is about half a mile distant from Baltimore. Some glebe round the church.

Castlehaven Church at Glannbarachan is out of repair. It stands 3 miles from Skibbareen to the S.E. There has been an assessment made of 10s. per plowland for the repairs. There are about 25 plowlands. Mr. Fortune lives at Castlehaven. The church is large. It stands near the Castle upon an arm of the sea, a very good harbour. Higher up the same harbour stands Castletown, where Colonel Townsend lives. The land of this parish is generally coarse.

Dr. Pomeroy, Dean of Corke, has the Rectory of Glannbarachan als. Castlehaven. He has 2-thirds of all the tythes. Divine Service is performed in the church of Castlehaven by Mr. Fortune 3 Sundays in 4, and the 4th Sunday Mr. Fortune preaches at Kilfaughnaghbeg in a gentleman's house. There are three gentlemen by turns have the sermon in their houses. The harbour of Castlehaven is very good. About 50 persons at church on Sundays at Castlehaven.

Kilfaughnaghbeg and Kilmacabea are contiguous. Miros lyes betwixt them and Castlehaven. Kilfaughnaghbeg belongs to Mr. Patrickson. The late Bishop sequestred it into Mr. Fortune's hands for serving the cure.

Miros parish lyes on the east side of the harbour of Castlehaven. The church is ruinous near the sea. Mr. Gibson has the intire Rectory. Quære, whether Divine Service be performed?

On Monday, the 14th of August, I went from Skibbareen to the Island of Shirkin. We past by severall islands on our way. We landed on Innisbegclary, belonging to the Bishop of Rosse. The land good and good improvements.

Shirkin belongs to the parish of Tullogh, and lyes over against it. 'Tis a pretty large island. The castle is on the east side of the island. It is strong, having 2 or 3 platforms towards the sea, whereon are about 8 guns planted.

There is another platform for guns near the south point of the island, where the entrance is narrowest, viz., about half a mile over. The channel lyes near the island. There are barracks in the Castle, and also near the other platform, sufficient for a company of foot.

Aug. 15, '99, Tuesday, I went from Shirkin to Rosse. We landed near Baltimore,¹⁰ a poor ruinous place in the parish of Tullough. Thence we went to Castlehaven, where the Countess Dowager of Castlehaven lives in an old house.

The church of Castlehaven als. Glanbarchan is large, but not in good repair. No pulpit nor seats nor books. We went to Colonel Townsend's¹¹ by boat up the harbour, which is a very good one. It runs up into the land about 5 miles. We took up some oysters with a dredge, which were very large and good. Mr. Fortune preaches 3 Sundays in 4 at Castlehaven, and the 4th at a gentleman's house in Kilfaughmabeg.

¹⁰ Baltimore was the scene of a tragic occurrence on June 20, 1631. It is mentioned in Smith's "Cork," vol. i., 270 (ed. 1774), upon which place Dr. Caulfield has an interesting note endorsed:—"From the Sovereigne of Baltimore to Sir W. Hull, Knight, and Council of Munster," a letter giving a brief description of the landing of a party of men from two Turkish men-of-war, who plundered the town and carried off 111 men, women and children, besides killing two men. Dr. Caulfield furnished a narrative of this disaster to the "Munster Journal," reprinted in the edition of Smith by Messrs. Day and Coppinger, vol. i., p. 263:—"The insolency of the Turk at Baltimore" is attested by the Sovereign and Burgesses to Sir S. Crooke, Bart. Ibid. See also my note on Cox, ubi infra.

¹¹ This was probably Bryan Townsend, Sovereign of Clonakilty in 1692-1693. He is likewise credited with having killed the last wolf in the Co. Cork at Kilcrea in 1710. He married Mary Sygne, daughter of the Bishop mentioned above, about 1681, and in 1689 was proclaimed a traitor by King James' Parliament. He became M.P. for Clonakilty, 1695-1699. He bore a high character for integrity, and was entrusted by many of the oppressed Roman Catholics of Carbery with their property to a very large amount. When an old man, during a brief sojourn of his family by the sea shore, a violent tempest having arisen, a frigate lying at anchor in the immediate vicinity was dashed against the house, and actually broke the window of the old gentleman's apartment. From the effects of the cold caused by this accident he never recovered, and died in 1726. See "An Officer of the Long Parliament and his Descendants," edited by R. and Dorothea Townshend, 1892. From Bryan's third son was descended the Rev. Richard Townsend, who was elected a Fellow of Trin. Coll., Dublin, in 1845, on first trial. He was the beau ideal of a College Tutor. A most kind-hearted man, and devoted to his pupils, of whom he had a very large proportion, and in whose affairs he evinced a deep and never-failing interest. He was an eminent mathematician, author of "Chapters on the Modern Geometry of the Point, Line and Circle" (2 vols., 1863), and numerous papers in the Cambridge and Dublin Mathematical Journal. Mr. Townsend was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and Examiner in Mathematics to the London University. He became Professor of Nat. Philosophy, and subsequently a Senior Fellow, dying in 1884. He was an excellent lecturer, and a very handsome man. A Mathematical Exhibition has been founded, by subscription, to his memory at Trin. Coll., Dublin. "Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit."

The parish of Miros,¹² Mr. Gibson Incumbent, lyes on the east side of the harbour. The church ruinous. Divine Service seldom performed.

We past through part of the parish of Miross to the parish of Kilfaughnabeg.

Kilfaughnabeg belongs to Mr. Patrickson. The church is ruinous. Mr. Fortune preaches in the parish once a month. He has a sequestration of the tythes.

As we past through the parish of Kilfaughnabeg, the parish of Kilmaccabea lyes on the left hand, belonging to Mr. Patrickson. No church nor Divine Service.

From Kilfaughnabeg we went through some parish belonging to the 4 Vicars Choral of Rosse, and then into the parish and œconomy of Rosse, which extends to both sides of the town.¹³

On the west side of the bay of Rosse lyes the Downings, belonging to the See of Rosse, being three plowlands in the tenancy of Mr. Smith. The Lady Moor farms from him $\frac{1}{2}$ a plowland, and gives for it £16 p. an. On the west side lyes Lacken robbin, the Frehans belonging to the See of Rosse, set to the Lady Moor, all good land. The Dean and several of the members of the Cathedral have small pieces of land near Rosse. Colonel Freake has some estate near Rosse. Mr. Goodman has the 4 Vicars Chorals' places. He preaches once a fortnight in the morning, the dignitarys and prebendarys preach in their turns once a fortnight. Mr. Goodman takes care of the parish of Rosse, viz., that which belongs to the œconomy and that which belongs to the Vicars Choral.

¹² "In this parish was anciently an Abbey called De Sancto Mauro, also De Fonte Vivo, founded anno 1172 by Dermot Cormac Carty, of Kilbawne, who was King of Cork, for Cisterian monks, from the Abbey of Baltinglass." (Smith.) Large quantities of human bones are said to have been found, as well as the foundation of extensive ruins at Carigiliky in this parish. Ibid.

"The parish of Myross runs along the western side of these little inlets of the sea called Glandore Bay, somewhat to the west of Ross Bay. Dean Swift is said to have spent the summer of 1723 here with a local clergyman. At Myross is a rocky arch, where he used to embark, and near the entrance of Castletown Bay, an inlet still more to the west, are several caves running from the sea under the rocks, into which boats can row. The caves, or holes, are really tremendous. They are 180 feet deep, and lie 300 yards from the cliffs. They are called East and West Populaduff. Who can contemplate the vast caves and overhanging cliffs, and being at the same time acquainted with Dean Swift's beautiful lines, 'Caiberiaæ rupes in Com. Corcag. ap Hibernicos,' can avoid recurring to them?" Mrs. Anne Plumptre's "Narrative of a Residence in Ireland During the Summer of 1814-15," p. 252. Barker's "Literary Anecdotes," vol. i., p. 181-3. The lines referred to above will be found in Swift's Works, vol. xiv., p. 177-8. (Scott's Edn., 1814).

"Ecce ingens fragmen scopuli, quod vertice summo
Desuper impendet," &c.

"Lo! from the top of yonder cliff that shrouds
Its airy head amid the azure clouds

Hangs a huge fragment," &c.

(Dr. Dunkin's Transl.)

¹³ Cox, writing circ. 1685, refers to "Ross, als. Rosscarbry, als. Rossailethry, a Bp's See, now annexed to Cork, a pritty market town, of old a famous city and university, the Cathedral founded in the sixth century, probably by St. Fachnah, or Fachnanus, once Bp. thereof, to whom it is dedicated; hee was a man renowned for sanctitie and esteemed the Patron or titular Saint of this parish, if not diocese; in memory of him they observe an anniversary on the 16th of Aug., on which day therefore the episcopal visitation is annually performed." Cox, MS. "Description of the County and City of Cork between the year 1680-90," edited by me for the R. Soc. of Antiquaries, Ireland, Journal, vol. xxxii., p. 359. On the ancient state of Ross and its schools, see Ussher, Works, vol. vi., p. 471, &c.; Bede, Eccl. Hist., Book iii., c. 27; Killen, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, vol. i., p. 51; Lanigan, ii., 353, &c.

On Wednesday, the 16th of Aug., I held the Visitation at Rosse.

On Thursday, the 17th of Aug., 1699, I went from Rosse to Kinsale. I went through the parish of Rathbarry. Colonel Freake's old Castle is there about 2 miles from Rosse. About 5 miles from Rosse eastward is the island of Inchidenny, belonging to the See of Rosse. Good land, well improved. Mr. Hungerford tenant. The strand is dry when the tyde is out. The island, with some of the mainland, makes a parish. The church on the island ruinous.

Through part of the parishes of Templemalos, Timoleague, Rathclarin and Kilbrittan we past to Ballinedehy, where Mr. Falkiner has built a good new house, with stables, &c., and planted a garden. The church of Ballinemy in pretty good repair. Pulpit and seats in half of it.

At Kinsale¹⁴ the water is about 200 yards broad. On the west side of the river the old fort on the top of the hill now neglected. A small blockhouse at the point of the same hill, with about 7 embrasures near high water marke, a little storehouse in it, but no guns.

The new fort about a quarter of a mile below the blockhouse, the east side of the river, 5 bastions of stone. Those two that look towards the mouth of the harbour, with the curtine betwixt them, have many embrasures, with guns planted on them. There are 2 tires of guns below the south curtine that faces the mouth of the harbour. The west curtine that looks across the water has one tire of guns below it. There are about 140 guns in all; 200 are designed. Several of the guns are off the carriages, and the carriages are laid up. There is a hill on the east of the fort within 200 yards. It overlooks the fort. One of the bastions which looks towards the land is called the cittadell. 'Tis inclosed on the inward side towards the fort.

The channel runs within 100 yards of the new fort. There is a sort of a

¹⁴ "Kingsale, in Irish Coansaly, i.e., harbour of the sea, is an ancient Corporation governed by a Suffrain and Burgesses, and scituated neare one of the best harbours in Ireland, which is therefore guarded by the old fort of Castlenipark, and a new royall structure called Charlesfort, built at Rincorran by his Grace the Duke of Ormonde, at his Matie's charge, and with great art and magnificence, and is thereby rendered a sanctuary for ships in tyne of war." Sir R. Cox, "Description of the City and County of Cork," circ. 1685. I transcribe my note on the above.

"A complete account of the siege of Kinsale, and surrender of these two important fortifications, is given in the "Pacata Hibernia." The town was invested and bombarded by the English forces under the Lord Deputy, Oct., Nov., and Dec., 1601. The Spaniards, who occupied the place, were commanded by Don Juan de Aquila.* An attempt to raise the siege, or throw relief into the town, led to a decisive action, December 24, 1601, near Kinsale, where the united Irish under Tyrone, and Spanish forces, were utterly defeated by the English, with a loss of 1,200 killed and 800 wounded of the Irish. Tyrone was said to have been among the latter. Terms of capitulation were eventually agreed upon on the 2nd of January, and the Spaniards permitted to return to Spain. The full particulars of these events are narrated in the "Pacata Hibernia," pp. 414, 439, &c.

"Both Charles Fort and Castlenipark were attacked by the Duke of Marlborough (October, 1690). The former surrendered after a breach had been made, on honourable terms, the garrison being allowed to retire to Limerick. The latter was carried by escalade in the most dashing manner, the stormers, under Tettau, having crossed the Bandon river about a mile above Kinsale, surprised the enemy at daybreak; about 200

* Mr. H. T. Daunt, a good local antiquary, informs me that he has every reason to believe, as the result of careful investigation and examination of the surrounding country, that the battle was fought at a spot situated between Kinsale and Dunderrow. In this he is corroborated by the tradition of the inhabitants, and the peculiar nomenclature of the locality. In the "Pacata Hibernia" the scene of action is laid in the vicinity of Knockrobin, about a mile to the north of Kinsale.

barr a little below the new fort, so that 1st and 2nd rate ships can't well pass unless it be at high water.

The Old Head of Kinsale is the extreme point of land on the west side of the water. Pallisades at the foot of the walls of the new fort towards the land were in King James's time. Pallisades on the counterscarps were made about the year 1694. The walls of the fort that are towards the land were not well made, the inside being nothing but rubbish, viz., the wall towards the land.

The English in 1690 attacked the fort on the east side. They cut down the N. East bastion from a battery planted on the side of the hill, at about 200 yards distance. Ld. Marlborough, after 13 days' siege, had it surrendered to him by Sr. R. Cotte— (the end of name caught into binding.)

Anno 1699. Mr. Bousfield preaches once in six weeks at Kilcoe in a cabin. There are about 6 Protestant families in that parish. He preaches twice in six weeks at Skibbareen, and three times in six weeks in the parish of Aghadown in his own house. About 14 or 16 Protestant families in this parish. Mr. Trix preaches at Skibbareen twice in a month, and at Baltimore and Shirkin. (A space left here.)

Robert Howard, Verger of Rosse, says that Caharagh parish is worth about 60 or 70 p. an. It is an intire Rectory. That Dromaleige parish is worth £60 p. an; is an intire prebend. That the whole of Castlehaven parish is worth about £70; the Vicar's part is a third of the tythes; the whole glebe and book money worth about £30 p. an. The Rector of Abbystrewry has half the tythes of 2 plowlands in this parish; the other half belongs to the Rector of Castlehaven and the Vicar, viz., 2-thirds to the Rector and 1-third to the Vicar. The Rectory of Castlehaven has 2-thirds of all the rest of the parish. In the parish of Rosse the Vicars Choral have all the tythes of 22 plowlands, worth about £40 p. an. The whole parish is 35½ plowlands. In the same parish of Rosse the œconomy of Rosse has the tythes of all the rest of the parish, viz., all the tythes of 13½ plowlands, worth about £18 p. an.

The tythes of the town of Rosse, viz., gardens, &c., belong to the

of the garrison were killed, the remainder, over 200 in number (who had taken refuge in the keep), surrendered as prisoners of war. The best modern account of these transactions, including the siege of Cork, is that given by Field-Marshal Viscount Wolsley, K.P., in his 'Life of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough,' vol. ii., p. 175-221.

"Charles Fort, which replaced the "Castle of Rincorran" (alluded to in the "Pacata Hibernia"), was begun in 1670; the Earl of Orrery laid the first stone. The work is said to have cost £73,000. It was inspected by the Duke of Ormond in 1681, who named it after Charles II. The curious legend of the White Lady is connected with this place, and in its casements the French prisoners of war were confined. It was at one time a work of importance, commanding the harbour and passage to the town, but has, in recent years, been dismantled of its guns, and is now used chiefly as an infantry barrack."

The old fort referred to in the text is Castlenipark; and the small blockhouse at the water's edge rejoiced at one time in the name of James's Fort, probably being so called after James II., who landed at Kinsale, March 12, 1689. (Clarke's "Life of James II., vol. 2, p. 329.) For many years this interesting structure presented the appearance described by the Bp., but more recently the iconoclastic and utilitarian zeal of the present occupier has dismantled the fortification and ruined one of the last vestiges of antiquity connected with the place. The embrasures have been built up, the walls raised, a felt roof superimposed, and an unsightly storehouse erected in rear. For this vandalism the Commissioners of Woods and Forests appear to be responsible, having let the place to a fish-buyer, in spite of the indignant protest of the local inhabitants, who are naturally aggrieved by the proceeding, which also deprives them of a favourite resort and recreation ground. The harbour was once protected by a chain, the memory of which still survives in the name "Chain hole."

Vicars Choral of Rosse, worth about 20s. p. an. They have also the book money of the whole parish, worth about £4 p. an. The gardens and house plots belonging to the Dean and Dignitaries are supposed to be within the precincts of the Cathedral, but the rest of the town is in the parish of Rosse. The church is accounted a parish church as well as a cathedral. The Vicars Choral have the cure of the parish of Rosse. The Dignitaries and Prebendaries preach once a fortnight in the Cathedral, and the other turn is supplied by Mr. Goodman, who has all the four Vicars' places. The 4 Vicars have nothing but what they have in the parish of Rosse.

The Vicar of Kilfaughnabeg, part being half the tythes of that parish, is worth about £12 p. an. The Archdeacon of Rosse has the other half, except half the tythes of 2 plowlands, which belongs to the economy of Rosse. The whole parish of Kilfaughnabeg contains about 12 plowlands.

Kilmachabea Church ruinous, sixty foot long, 26 broad, 35 long to be repaired.

Kilmacbea, the vicaridge being half the tythes, with the book money, is worth about £20 p. an. The Earl of Corke has half the tythes of 12 plowlands. Archdeacon of Rosse has half the tythes of the rest of the parish, viz., half the tythes of 18 plowlands.

Creagh, the vicaridge being half the tythes, is worth about £25 p. an. The Rectory the same. Half the tythes of 2½ plowlands in this parish belong to the Rectory of Abbystrewry; the other half to the Rector and Vicar of Creagh.

Tullogh, vicaridge being half the tythes, worth about £10 p. an, or £15. The Rectory the same. The whole parish about 27 plowlands.

Cape Clear, the Countess of Castlehaven has the Rectory, being half the tythes. The whole parish is twelve plowlands. There are ruins of a church, a churchyard, glebe, half a plowland belonging to the Vicar. The island is the estate of Colonel Beecher. The Colonel gives four pounds p. an. to the Vicar for his vicaridge.

Aghadown. The Archdeacon of Rosse has two-thirds of the Rectory, being half the tythes. The Countess of Castlehaven has the other third part of the Rectory. The Vicar has half the tythes, half a plowland glebe, and the book money. The vicaridge is worth about £23 p. an. 27 plowlands in the whole parish of Aghadown.

Kilcoe, 14 plowlands. Archdeacon of Rosse has half the tythes of eleven plowlands, and the Countess of Castlehaven has half the tythes of three plowlands. The Vicar has half the tythes of the whole parish and book money. The vicaridge is worth about £18 p. an., the glebe being 12 acres near the church in the two plowlands of Kilcoe. Those two plowlands belong to the Archbishop of Dublin, set to Mr. Philip Townsend. The glebe is concealed, but is mentioned in the Down Survey.

Abbystrewry Parish. The Earl of Orrery has the intire impropriation. He has set it by lease to — Gookin, Esq. Mr. Gookin has set it by lease to Mr. Edward Richardson. In this parish about 20 plowlands; the tythes worth about £50 p. an.; the book money worth about £4 p. an. Mr. Gookin allows the Curate about £10 p. an. Mr. Gookin's tenant receives the book money, especially from the Irish, but the Curate claims it over and above the salary, and he does receive it from the English. In this parish and the parishes adjoining the Rector or Vicar usually demands, besides burying fees, when the man of the family or a widow dies worth

£5, the summe of 13s. 4d. as a mortuary.¹⁵ If the man dies worth less than £5, they demand his second best suit of clothes, or 6s. 8d. in lieu thereof. This has been adjudged by the Bishop's Court to be due, and is usually received, especially by the lay impropiators, where there is no vicaridge indow'd.

The fees for burials, &c., are not the same in all parishes the custom takes place. The same is observed in tything of pigs, &c.

Skull Parish, about 50 plowlands, the Rectory being half the tythes. The Vicar has the other half and the glebe and book money. The vicaridge is worth about £40 p. an. The Rectory worth about £32 p. an. In this parish and in other parishes that lie on the sea, the Rector and Vicar agree as well as they can with the fishermen for the tyth of fish, sometimes 40s. for a sain, and sometimes 5s., sometimes 10s. per boat for hook fishing. Half the tyth is paid by those that come out of other parishes; the other half is paid in the parish where the fishermen dwell.

Kilmoe Parish, 25 plowlands. The Rectory being half the tythes, is worth about £16 p. an. The vicaridge being the other half of the tythes, the glebe and book money is worth about £20 p. an.

ANNO 1699.

Lislee Parish,¹⁶ about 32 plowlands. The Rector has all the tythes, excepting half the tythes of twelve plowlands, which belong to the impropiator of Abby Mahon, the Earl of Orrery. The Rectory is worth about £50 p. an., or £60. 'Tis a good country. About 12 acres of glebe joyning to the church belong to the Rector, worth about £3 p. an.

Timoleague Parish contains 7 plowlands, is an intire prebend, worth about £30 p. an. A glebe of about 4 acres on the north side of the town belongs to the prebend.

The blew boys' Hospitall at Corke, founded by William Worth, Esq.

ABSTRACT OF THE DEED.

Indented between William Worth, Esq., and the Mayor and Constables of the Staple of the City of Corke.

The said Mayor and Constables to have possession of the lands, &c.

¹⁵ Mortuaries, according to Blackstone, are a sort of ecclesiastical heriots (i.e., fines paid to the lord at the death of a landholder), being a customary gift claimed by and due to the minister in very many parishes on the death of his parishioners—a kind of expiation and amends to the clergy for the personal tithes, &c., which the laity in their lifetime might have neglected or forgotten to pay; and therefore in the laws of King Canute this mortuary is called a soul-scot or "symbolum animae." It was sometimes termed a corse-present, and appears in the time of Henry III. to have become an established custom. With a view to preventing the abuses arising therefrom, of exaction on the one side, and fraud or litigation on the other, it was thought proper by Statute, 21 Hen. VIII., cap. 6, to reduce these payments to a fixed scale proportioned to the value of the possessions of the deceased, viz., for every person who left goods worth less than 10 marks, nothing; who left goods worth 10 marks and under £30, 3s. 4d.; £30 and under £40, 6s. 8d.; above £40, 10s. and no more. See Blackstone's "Commentaries on the Laws of England," vol. ii., p. 425-7, ed. 1766.

¹⁶ The parish is said to derive its name from a mound or rath a little to the west of the church. A number of these remains of antiquity are to be found in the vicinity, the largest on a hill about half a mile to the south. Abbeymahon was founded by Cistercian monks at their own expense; the Lord Barry endowed it with eighteen plowlands, which constitute the parish of Abbeymahon; but the building was never finished, for the suppression of the monasteries taking place, those lands were seized by the Crown. "This house has been mistaken for that of De Sancto Vivo, alias De Fonte Vivo," Archdall says ("Monasticon," p. 55). He refers to Smith, in whose time the walls of the church were standing.

All the Spittle lands, St. Stephen's East and West, Ballinvoght. They paying £20 yearly for 4 scholars in Dublin College. The rest in trust for a schoolmaster and poor boys to be taught to read, write and arithmetick.

The Mayor and Common Council of the City of Corke are to be Governors of the said Hospitall, and to choose the master and poor boys, all of ye Protestant religion as by law established. The poor boys to have blew coats and caps, with other clothing, meat, drink and lodging.

The Mayor and Common Council to make rules for the Government of the Hospital.

The schoolmaster and poor boys to continue during the pleasure of the Mayor and Common Council.

Leases in the South Liberties to be made for 21 years, with power of renewing within 7 years of expiration on paying half a year's rent for hire. The rest only for 21 years in possession for the full rent.

The Mayor and Constables of the Staple are to set the leases with the consent of the Mayor and Common Council of the City of Corke.

The aforesaid £20 p. an. to be paid to 4 scholars in Dublin College, equally divided amongst them. The natives of the City and County of the City of Cork, and for want of them the natives of the County of Corke, and for want of them the natives of any other county in Ireland, always to be preferred, all which natives, and none other, shall be named and chosen by the Bp. of Corke and his successors, the Mayor of Corke and his successors for the time being, William Worth, Esq., and his heirs, and the Provost of the said College and his successors, or by any two or three of them, whereof the said Will. Worth and his heirs shall be alwaies one.

The schoolmaster to have £25 p. an. salary for teaching the poor boys, and to have £10 p. an. for each poor boy's diet, clothing, &c., and £5 p. an. to the receiver or steward. The boys not to be admitted before 8 years old, nor to stay after 14.

And that then or sooner such boys shall be put aprentices to such trades and for so long time as the Mayor and Common Council shall think fit, which boy shall at such time have one suit of decent apparel, with other necessities provided out of the rents of the premises.

And if the expenses of the boys, &c., exceed the income, the Mayor, &c., may lessen the number of boys.

(To be continued).

The Fenian Harbours of the Co. Cork.

By REV. J. F. LYNCH.



R. KUNO MEYER, in his edition of the "The Battle of Ventry" (1885), supplies from Egerton 149 the names of the Harbours of Ireland at which watchmen, whose names are specified, were placed by the great leader Finn, in order to give notice of the approach of the hostile fleet of Daire Donn.

These old place-names are very interesting, but I shall refer only to those connected with Cork County. Roighne Roisgleathain, or R. wide-eye, was stationed at Tacmain, also called Roinne

Cru. This is the promontory or foreland near the Blackwater bridge above Youghal, now called Rhincrew, of which locality important particulars are given in Cardinal Moran's edition of "Archdall." O'Reilly's Dictionary has the word "tacmaing," meaning a compass or circuit, and it may also mean a circumscribed or narrow place; and Roinne very likely is from rinn, a point or promontory, while cru may mean blood. The name perhaps has reference, like that of the Bloody Foreland on the Donegal coast, to shipwrecks. Roighe wide-eye, son of Finn, is frequently mentioned in the Fenian tales. There was a celebrated plain in Ossory named Magh Raighne or Roighne, and in "Silva Gadelica," p. 293, Cleghile, near the town of Tipperary, is termed Cnamhchoill of Mac Raighne.

The next Harbour thus mentioned is that called Fan an Tiobruide, or "Slope of the well," and Ceann t-Saile, or "head of the sea," now named Kinsale. Lewis's Topography says that this place is supposed to have derived its name from the Irish Ceann Taile, or "headland in the sea," in allusion to the promontory called the Old Head; and that in some ancient Irish manuscripts it is called Fan na Tuabrid. The Irish fort which was on the Old Head was named Dun Cearmna, from Cearmna, grandson of Eber, son of Ir, son of Milidh. In "Silva Gadelica," p. 533, Ir is stated to have been buried on the Great Skellig, called also Scelig Michil, or rock of St. Michael, off Kerry, where there was a cromlech connected with Ir; and Cearmna is stated to have been slain in his dun by Eochaid, son of Conmail, son of Eber. Particulars of Cearmna and Eochaid are given by Keating, and there are also references to them in the Topographical Poem of Gilla Coemain, translated by the Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, in the Todd Lecture Series, vol. iii. O'Donovan, in his Introduction to "The Boyish Exploits of Finn," says that according to some writers the mother of Finn was Torba (in "The Boyish Exploits of Finn" stated to be the first wife of Cumhall), daughter of Eochaman of the Ernaans of Dun Cearmna, but Finn's mother is usually called Muirne. Lewis says that "The Church of Kinsale, dedicated to St. Multosia, by whom it is said to have been erected in the 14th century as the conventual church of a monastery which she had founded, is a spacious and venerable cruciform structure." Multosia was not, however, a female; and this saint lived long anterior to the 14th century. Multosia comes from the Irish Moelteoc, or My Little Eilte, and is thus referred to in the "Calendar of Oengus" at the 11th of December:—"The feast of My Eilteoc, a fair city, with a valiant host over sea"; and in the Notes from Rawlinson, we read: "My Eilteoc, i.e., Eiltene of Kinsale, in the South of Ireland." According to some writers Eilteoc was nephew to St. David of Wales. The Ernaans, one of the three heroic races (laech-aicme) of ancient Ireland, were the celebrated Ernean, Irian, or Iberian race to whom are ascribed nowadays the oldest stone forts in Munster. The Fenian watchman at Kinsale was Aodh Beg, son of Finn Mac Gloir, who was the same as Finn Mac Cumail, as stated in "The Boyish Exploits of Finn." Aodh Beg is often mentioned in the Fenian tales.

The next Harbour is called Uisge Caol, or "narrow water," and Tig Mholaise, or "House of Molaise." I do not know of any church on the south coast of Cork dedicated to Molaise, so probably the name is a

mistake for Tig (or Tech) Mholaga, now Timoleague. Timoleague is not mentioned in the Life of Molaga. In the Preface to the "Lives from the Book of Lismore," Dr. Whitley Stokes says that of the previous history of the Book of Lismore, called also The Book of MacCarthy Reagh, we only know that on the 20th June, 1629, it was in Timoleague Abbey, in the hands of Michael O'Clery, one of the Four Masters. In the Life of Finnchua ("Lives of Saints from Book of Lismore," p. 348) occurs the following note:—"Out of the Book of MacCarthy Reagh this Life of Finnchua has been written in the convent of the Friars in the House of Mo-laga (Timoleague), the 20th June, 1629"; and Dr. Stokes states that there is also a reference to it in the "Martyrology of Donegal," p. 318.

Keating says that one of the Books of Ireland was termed Leabhar Dubh Molaga, or the Black Book of Molaga. O'Curry says that this book is lost. The Fenian watchman at Tig Mholaise was named Finn, son of Dubhan, son of Murchadh. Dubhan here is evidently a mistake for Cubhan, also written Cuan and Cudhan. Finn, son of Cubhan, son of Murchadh, is connected with Tara Luachra in the "Battle of Ventry," and in the "Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne," he is termed the chief of the Fenians of Munster. He is also mentioned in the "Agallamh na Senorach."

The next Harbour is named Garga na t Tred and Carda O cCarbre. Garga and Carda are forms of Garrdha, a garden. One name means garden of the flocks or herds, and the other name signifies that the Garden was in the district of the O'Carbery. Dr. O'Donovan in a note in "Geinealach Corca Laidhe," p. 10, says, quoting from the author of "Carbriæ Notitia," that "three miles west of Ross lyes the harbour of Glandore, which is an exceeding good haven, and near it is a castle of the same name; and on the other side lyes a small territory called the Garry (quasi the Garden), which is the best land in West Carbery." The Fenian watchman at the Garden was named Finn, son of Seasgonn.

The next Harbour is called Cluthar, a sheltered or enclosed place, and Cuan Dorn, now Glandore. Cuan means harbour, cove, or haven, and Dorn is a mistake for Dor. Dor, in the names Cuan Dor and Glenn Dor, is in the genitive case plural ("Geinealach Corca Laidhe," p. 32), and cannot mean "of gold," nor "of the oak-trees"; but probably is the old word Dur or Dabhar or Dobhar, from which is Dover of England, and which means water or river. The Fenian watchman here was named Lurga Liathbhan.

The next Harbour is called Cuan na hInnsi, or "haven of the island" (probably Inis Arcain or Orcain, now Sherkin Island) and Cuan an Tighe Mhoir, or "haven of the great house," now Baltimore, for which see Dr. Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," ii., 377. The Fenian watchman was called Caol Crodha, or brave Caol or Cael, son of Crimthann. In the "Battle of Ventry," and in O'Curry's Lectures, and in "Silva Gadelica," some curious particulars are given concerning the connection of Caol Crodha and Credhi or Gelgheis with the Paps of Kerry and Ventry.

The next and last of these Co. Cork Harbours is that named from Inis Creagain, or "island of the little rock," and Dun Baoi, now Dunboy, near Bear Island (Castletown Berehaven). In the Agallamh na Senorach ("Silva Gadelica," p. 110), we read:—

"Iscach mara muiride a criochaibh Bai is Beire. Medhban Faide firghlaine, duilesc a cuanaibh Cleire." "Fish of the briny sea from the coasts of Buie and Beare; Medhban of lightsome Whiddy and duilesc from the coves of Cleire" (Cape Clear).

Sir John Rhys ("Hibbert Lectures," p. 309) refers to Boi, nurse of Corc, son Cairbre Musc, from whom Inis Bui, called also Tech nDuind iar nErinn, or Donn's House behind or west of Ireland, near Dursey island, was named. If Inis Creagain be not Bear Island, then it may be Inis Bui, and it is probable that the names Boi and Bai are the same. The Fenian watchman there was named Cuiirioll O Conbhfoinn. Cuiirioll is the same name as Cairell.

Notes and Queries.

An Old Auction Bill.—The eighteenth-century auction bill here presented is about the size of an ordinary handbill. The material of which it consists is hand-made paper, probably manufactured in the neighbouring mills at Dripsey. It was printed, apparently, from metal type, the ink being of remarkable blackness, and, as a form of advertisement, will stand comparison with any similar work of the present time. After more than a century of existence, it exhibits scarcely any trace of wear or injury, and, given fair conditions, will be good for centuries to come, which cannot be said for anything of the kind produced just now.

Aghabullogue is a parish of the diocese of Cloyne, situated in the Parliamentary Division of Mid-Cork, at a distance of four miles from Coachford. The particulars mentioned in the bill as comprising a "quantity of household furniture," are sufficiently miscellaneous; and if John Murphy's house contained the goods described, it must have resembled an auctioneer's mart rather than a human dwelling. The pair of large wooden gates, iron grates for sewers, a great quantity of old iron in lots, an iron plough, bricks and fire bricks, a four-wheeled dray, a very long ladder, a bog deal beam 14 feet long, and oak beam for mantle trees, must have given some variety, if not attractiveness, to the habitation. Some of the articles mentioned as being of household use are, of course, now quite obsolete. The candle frame with moulds, mill for grinding coffee are no longer to be seen, and the cider alluded to is no more the healthy beverage of home brewing. J. P. D.

John Garrett, of Cork (vol. xiii., No. 73, p. 48).—The following may help Capt. Garrett:—

Joseph Garrett, of Cork, son of John and Anne, married 2 Dec., 1777, Mary, daughter of William Pike, of Dublin, and Deborah, his wife.

Joseph Garrett, of Dublin, son of William and Mary, married Eliza, dau. of Wm. White, of Waterford, and Mary, his wife, 3 Feb., 1753.

Joseph Garrett, of Cork, had a brother William, "of the Parish of St. Peter's," 1772 and 1778, also a chocolate manufacturer.

The following were admitted to the famous Ballitore school:—Wm. G. 1753; James G., 1762; Wm. G., 1794; James G., 1794; Richd. G., 1795.

The above-named Joseph, of Dublin, had by Eliza White, a daughter, Sophia, who married Solomon Turner, of Cashel (b. 1742), and had a

AUCTION FURNITURE.

To be Sold, at John Murphy's House near the Chapel of Ahabollogue

On Thursday 5th of May,

A QUANTITY OF HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE,

Consisting of a pair of large Wooden gates, a Settle, a Safe or Oven, some small Iron grates for sewers, and large Iron grates to put outside windows, a large Kitchen Grate, fit for coal or turf, Wire Safe with Zinc Shelves, Side-board Table, Desk with drawers, Backgammon-table, two sets of Harness, single and double, strong Frames with iron bars and strong shutters, fit for a basement story or out house, a great quantity of Old Iron in lots, an Iron Plough, Chairs and Wooden Tables, a Press, pestle and Mortar, common Bricks and some Fire-bricks, a four-wheeled dray, a very long Ladder and some short ones, four stone Window-stools, Tea-urn Coffee-pot, some Oak Beams fit for mantle-trees, and some Ash Trees, a Bogdeal Beam about 14 feet long, Ferret box, some Rabbit-nets, a long Hay net for killing rabbits, a large Brass Skillet, Syringe for a flower garden, and a large wind-up Jack, a Candle frame with Moulds, Mill for grinding coffee, a Roaster, Gavesson for training young horses, some new and old Sashes with frames, Weights and Rollers for sashes, two Looking Glasses, a number of Drawers, some Marine Curtains, and 7 Casks of Cider eight years old, good to make vinegar, with a great quantity of miscellaneous property.

SALE AT 12 O'CLOCK,

OLD AUCTION BILL.

daughter, Margaret, who married in 1793 Richard Quain, and was mother of the celebrated Quain brethren.

I am interested to know who William and Mary, the parents of this Joseph Garrett, were, and what his occupation was.

West Byfleet, Surrey.

C. M. TENISON.

MacCarthys of Glaneraugh, Co. Kerry.—I shall be much obliged to anyone who can give me information about the family called MacCarthy Garaloch (Fitzgerald), who resided in Glaneraugh, in the Co. Kerry, and can tell me from what branch they are sprung. Amongst the members of that family was Alexander MacCarthy, of Kilgarvan, who was shot in a duel by John Raymond, of Tralee, in 1816 or 1817. S. T. McC.

Necrology.—We much regret to have to record the death on the 25th of June last, aged 67, of the Rev. P. Hurley, Parish Priest of Inchigeela, one of the earliest members of our Society and its Council. Father Hurley's name will long be associated with Lake Gougane Barra, that historic and hallowed spot, where, by his exertions, an Oratory and the Stations of the Cross have been erected in commemoration of the great local apostle, St. Finbar, patron of the Diocese of Cork. Whilst neglecting no opportunity for promoting the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of his flock, he found time to contribute articles to the *Dublin Review* and other periodicals, including our own *Journal*, which is indebted to him for the following valuable papers:—"The Past History of the Diocese of Cork," vol. i., 1892, pp. 161-200, and vol. ii., p. 48; "Life of Dr. J. B. Sleyne, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne," vol. ii., p. 199; "Blessed Thaddeus MacCarthy, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne," vol. ii., p. 497, 1896, and vol. iii., p. 94; and, lastly, his "History of the O'Hurly Family," vol. xi., pp. 105-177, 1897, vol. xii., pp. 26-76, 1906, which has been separately published by Messrs. Guy & Co.

Reviews of Books.

1. *A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin.* By Rev. Hugh Jackson Lawlor, D.D. Price 2s.
2. *Irish Copper Halberds.* By George Coffey. Price 1s.
3. *Ancient Charters of the Liber Albus Ossoriensis.* By Henry F. Berry, I.S.O., Litt.D. Price 6d.
4. *Elias Bouhereau of La Rochelle, First Public Librarian in Ireland.* By Rev. Newport J. D. White, D.D. Price 1s.
5. *Biographical Notices of John Kells Ingram and Robert Atkinson.* Price 6d.

The above are portions of the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxvii., Section C, published from January to July this year, and, like all of their class brought out by the R. I. Academy, are at once the most interesting and the least costly publications of their kind printed in Ireland. The first-mentioned work is an important contribution to the ecclesiastical history of Dublin, dealing as it does with two of the few records that are left of the mediæval Church of Ireland, and well justifies its Rev. Editor's hope that it will prove useful to students of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Ireland. Dr. Henry F. Berry's brochure is mostly in Latin, extracted

from the lately recovered *White Book of Ossory*, which consists of transcripts made in the first half of the 17th century from the long lost original White Book of the Diocese of Ossory. The notes and corrections which are supplied by Dr. Berry bespeak his well known erudition and accurate editing. Mr. George Coffey's paper treats of Irish Copper Halberds, especially one of them now forming part of the renowned collection of our worthy President, Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A. It is written with all the fullness and knowledge of which Mr. Coffey is the almost unique possessor as regards this and kindred types of Irish antiquities. Dr. Newport White's sketch supplies many interesting particulars as to the life and family of Elias Bouhereau, who as Library Keeper of the famous Marsh's Library in Dublin, was thus the first public librarian in Ireland. One of the many Huguenots driven from France on account of their religion, whose descendants are still to be found in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and other parts of Ireland, this sketch of him owes its origin to Mr. Bouhereau's private correspondence having been, after a lapse of 150 years, restored to Marsh's Library, of which the Rev. Dr. White is now Librarian; and its publication serves, *inter alia*, "to call the attention of students to the whereabouts of a mass of original material for the social and general history of the Huguenots near Rochelle from about 1660 to 1685." A melancholy interest attaches to the "Biographical Notices of Dr. J. K. Ingram and Dr. Atkinson," inasmuch as their able author, Mr. C. L. Falkiner, recently lost his life in the Alps, at the early age of 45. As the writer of the poem entitled, "The Memory of the Dead," Dr. Ingram's name is most widely known, but of his other varied attainments and literary work an adequate idea can be formed from this interesting sketch, appended to which is a list of Dr. Ingram's various and valuable publications. Dr. Atkinson's name was, in spite of his great learning, perhaps little known outside of Dublin, where, apart from his professional duties, he found in his association with the Royal Irish Academy the main interest of his life. An Englishman by birth and descent, it is a noteworthy circumstance that his principal published works deal with the Irish language, while the heaviest toil of his life was bestowed on the ancient Brehon laws of Ireland. So unremitting were his labours that first his eyesight and finally his bodily health gave way under the strain. A list of Dr. Atkinson's publications fittingly accompanies this sketch of his life.

Seventy-fifth Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, 1906-7. Dublin: A. Thom & Co. Price 1s.

Amidst a mass of matter in this report entirely devoid of attraction for antiquarian readers, appears a most interesting account of one of the antiquarian structures of Ireland operated on by the Board of Works during the above period. At Clonmacnois we possess one of the most important and representative archæological centres in Ireland—one indeed most fitting to be taken charge of by the Board of Works; and on pages 10 to 17 of this report we are presented with an admirable notice of the ruins here, their past history, and present condition, accompanied with several plans and illustrations, due, we believe, to the authoritative pen of Dr. Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., the well-known, devoted and most efficient Hon. Secretary of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; whilst in an appendix covering pages 58 to 73 are given excellent illustrations, with descriptions, forming a complete catalogue, of all the inscribed stones now

existing at Clonmacnois, the work, we believe, of Mr. R. S. Macalister, who is one of our members, and a contributor to our *Journal*.

The Biography of Sir Edward Denny. By the Rev. H. L. L. Denny, M.A. Hertford: Austin & Sons, Ltd.

This very interesting and readable reprint from the "Transactions of the East Herts Archæological Society" furnishes us with a rather roseate picture of the founder of a titled family long connected with our neighbouring county, Kerry, viz., Sir Edward Denny, Knight Banneret, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, Governor of Kerry and Desmond, and some time Commander under Admiral Lord Howard. The fact that this Sir Edward Denny was a near cousin and close colleague of Sir Walter Raleigh, and cousin also of Sir Peter Carew and his more celebrated brother, Sir George Carew, whose Irish careers were not exactly *sans reproche*, and that he contrived more skilfully than Sir Walter Raleigh to secure the permanent possession of his Irish estates, would lead one to imagine that he was not altogether that *preux chevalier* which this sketch represents him to be. But one readily agrees with the Rev. H. L. L. Denny that the varied life of this Hertfordshire knight, linked with so many famous names and great events, is typical of that of the class of men for which the Elizabethan age was so remarkable. It may be added that the most complete and accurate account of Sir Edward Denny's descendants down to the present day is to be found in the new edition of Lodge's *Peerage and Baronetage* as edited by Sir Arthur Vicars.

An Irish Branch of the Fleetwood Family. By Sir Edmund T. Bewley, LL.D., F.S.A. Exeter: Pollard & Co. Reprinted from *The Genealogist*, vol. xxiv., April, 1908.

The late Sir E. T. Bewley might well have been congratulated on the successful attempt which this work forms to explain the origin and trace the pedigree of the Irish branch of the Fleetwood family which settled in the Co. Westmeath in the 17th century—a task rendered all the more difficult from the fact that no record of the early history of this branch existed in any shape, and that genealogical researches in Ireland have certain special difficulties. That all these have been surmounted is evident from the information here accumulated relative not only to the Fleetwoods of Westmeath, but to those branches of the family connected with the King's County and the counties of Tipperary, Meath and Kildare. There were also, we learn from this work, Co. Cork Fleetwoods, who held at their disposal no less than 40,000 acres of land in fee simple in Cork and Waterford, the last possessor of which, Henry Fleetwood, it is alleged, was partly cajoled and partly frightened into selling them to Stephen, ancestor of the Earls of Mountcashel, and the first bearer of that title, which he attained in 1766. The full account of these Co. Cork Fleetwoods, which appeared in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries for the second quarter of this year, was, we believe, the last paper that emanated from the pen of Sir E. T. Bewley, whose lamented death took place on the 26th June last. The present little work, it should be stated, contains pedigrees of the various Leinster branches of the Fleetwood family.

Doḡat ṛe Seacṛuin Céitinn.

Those who possess the advantage of knowing the Irish language will greatly appreciate this sketch of the life of Father Keating, the great Irish scholar and historian, whose *History of Ireland*, with an English transla-

tion, is now being brought out by the Irish Texts Society, London. The present sketch by Riscard O'Fogluda won the first place in the competitions at the Munster Feis held at Cork in 1907. Mr. Richard Foley, who is a most indefatigable worker on behalf of the Irish language, is a native of the Co. Cork, on whose Gaelic poets he lately contributed a series of papers to the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*.

Journal of the Ivernian Society. Cork: Guy & Co.

The first number of the Ivernian Society, recently founded in Cork for the study and encouragement of the literature, history, language, music, art and archæology of Ireland, is an excellent one. The contents include: "An Outcry Over the Abyss," by Dr. Windle, the President of this Society; "The Ancient Celts and a Recent Historian of Rome," by the Very Rev. Canon O'Mahony; "Tara Restored," by Dr. Annie W. Patterson; "Our Aim," by Rev. P. Sexton, D.D.; "The Scots of Ancient Erin," by F. J. Healy, B.L.; an article in Irish by Canon P. O'Leary; several discriminating reviews by Mr. Michael Murphy, together with illustrations and interesting notes on music, art, bibliography, &c. The Journal reflects credit also on the publishers, and is to be obtained for the small annual subscription of 5s.

The Architectural and Topographical Record, issued by the Architectural and Topographical Society, 33 Old West Queen Street, Westminster, S.W., London, of which two numbers have now been published, is the latest addition—and a very meritorious one—to the list of periodicals that deal with the architectural antiquities of the British Islands, and includes also within its scope heraldry, ecclesiology and historical records. That Ireland receives its due share of attention is shown by the fact that the first number contains descriptions and illustrations of Jerpoint and Callan, whilst in the second number are illustrated papers on the ruins of Dromcliffe Church and Round Tower, and of Ennis Abbey in the Co. Clare. In the parish of Quin, in the same county, information has been collected about the remains of seven castles and three ecclesiastical buildings, including Quin Abbey. This *Record*, therefore, is well worthy of the support of Irish antiquaries.

The Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, Ireland.

This praiseworthy Society has been more fortunate than ours in having had of late a considerable accession of new members, but, strange to say, has been less successful in obtaining materials for its Journal. This is all the more remarkable, for assuredly nothing could be simpler and easier than to copy out the older and quainter inscriptions from the nearest churchyard and send them for publication to the Hon. Editor, Lord Walter FitzGerald, Kilkea Castle, Mageney, Co. Kildare. Thanks to Mr. James Buckley, Colonel Grove White, and other members of our Society, many inscriptions from the graveyards around Doneraile and in South-East Cork have appeared in the Memorials' Journal, but scarcely any from North-East, North-West, and South-West Cork. It is to be hoped, therefore, that our members in these latter portions of our county will forward as many of these inscriptions as possible, and induce their friends also to do likewise, to the Hon. Editor, Lord Walter FitzGerald, so that the Memorials' Journal may be brought out with the fullness and comprehensiveness that have heretofore distinguished it.

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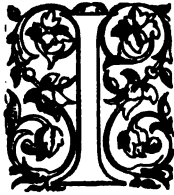


KILCREA ABBEY FROM S.E.

Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society.

The Monastery of St. Brigid, Kilcrea, and the Castle of the MacCarthys.

By THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.



N the long green valley of the Bride, hemmed in by level-topped and almost parallel ridges, lie the "Abbey" and Castle of Kilcrea. The hills are cut at intervals by deep glens, facing each other at opposite sides of the valley, and forming bold, well-wooded ravines, in pleasant contrast to the tamer scenery of the main valley. The slopes, too, are wooded in many places, and with the fine avenue of ash trees at the "Abbey" and the thick timber of the Kilcrea demesne, form a beautiful setting for the venerable buildings. The parish in which they stand forms part of the Barony of Muskerry, Co. Cork, deriving its name, Desertmore, from a hermitage, probably that one founded, in a remote unfixed past, by a sainted lady named Cyra, or Chera, from whom the later monastery took its name of Kilcrea. It is a beautiful and peaceful spot, only a few cottages, the cry of birds, and the lowing of cattle going to drink in the clear shallow stream break its loneliness and silence, save when an occasional train (an intruder from the Age of Iron) disturbs the birds in the thick ivy of the Mac Carthy's Castle, beside the railway. Very beautiful are the views about the venerable old bridge, whether its irregular arches make a foreground for the long avenue of ash trees, the confused gables and lofty belfry of the convent, or one sees from it, beyond the rippling stream, the dark square mass of the Castle against the evening light.

One recalls that the place has a position in literature through that able but anonymous poem, "The Monks of Kilcrea"—

"Three monks sat by the bogwood fire,
Bare were their crowns and their garments grey;
Close they sat to that bogwood fire,
Watching the wicket till break of day;
Such was ever the rule of Kilcrea."

The building, however, is there only the framework for the story, a lightly indicated scene behind the actors, or rather the narrators—a scene behind a scene and without details.

There was no duty laid on the poet to describe the Abbey, but it was

certainly to be expected that the local antiquaries should have done far more than they have done in that direction. Charles Smith, our first historian of Cork, only follows Ware's manuscript for its history, and draws an interesting picture of the state of the spot in about 1656. The place was "woody, bushy, very deep, and quite inaccessible, and edged on the east and west with red bogs, till about 30 years ago" (? 1626),¹ "frequented by wolves to the great annoyance of the adjacent inhabitants." Archdall and the later writers go over the salient facts of its history, but rarely describe the ruins, even in the most general way, or add anything but notes on the walls of human skulls and bones that lined the approach to the "Abbey" among the great trees. It is an interesting fact in the history of Ireland, but one as yet little analysed or studied, how slowly the practical side of archæology came to be known. In the early 18th century "antiquities" meant little more than ancient history. A "sentimental writer"—there was "nothing nobler than a man of sentiment" among the contemporaries of Charles Surface—liked to show his refinement by alluding in a very unscientific way to "hermits" and "the good old friars," or (oblivious of the forces of gravity) to Abbey towers "nodding their venerable heads." Dean Swift valued the Irish State Records at half-a-crown, and objects of the past were only "curiosities." Men like Ware, Colgan and Wadding had passed away, few even followed the steps of Dineley, and the county history was a mere oasis in a desert of contented ignorance. Considering the gloomy pages of Ireland's history from 1700 to 1790, we are little surprised when we find no detailed description even of ruins of great interest, but that over a century of revival and even enthusiasm has since passed, leaving the fine monastery of Kilcrea inadequately described is indeed astonishing. May I add a personal note expressing my diffidence and reluctance in undertaking the task at the request of Mr. Coleman, and asking antiquaries for a lenient judgment on one who in intervals of business (leaving little time to complete even papers on subjects of many years' research) went aside on two occasions eighteen years apart to study the ruins of Kilcrea. With little time for research in the Record Office, little addition can be made to the received history, though this must again be told, but the anatomy of the building is now given for the first time in considerable detail.

THE GENERAL HISTORY.

The most prolific century of the Middle Ages in architecture, so far as the buildings of Munster is concerned, is that preceding the Modern Period. The records of our province in the 15th century are scanty and unsatisfactory compared to what went before them, but a large series of castles and churches show unequivocal evidence of construction and repair during that period, and that often in a beautiful and even elaborate style. This is still more the case with the monasteries—Quin, Ennis and Clare; Askeaton, Clare and Kilmallock; Irrelagh, Lislachtin and Killaghy—show how this is the case in the counties to the north and west of Cork. A single generation saw the additions to most of these, and the foundation or rebuilding of Adare, Irrelagh, Lislachtin and Kilcrea. John Windele is,

¹ Dr. Charles Smith's "History of Co. Cork," citing an Inquisition of 1656.

however, certainly right as to the remains of the last appearing to be of far earlier date than that of its received foundation, but the survival of earlier styles to unusually late periods is a commonplace of Irish archæology, and it may account for the appearance of plain old details in Kilcrea "Abbey," though built during the later Wars of the Roses, when printing had begun its vast revolution, and the Mission of Mahomet had been proclaimed for twelve years in the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople.

The founder of Kilcrea was of the mighty line of Mac Carthy—Cormac Mór, chief of the race, prince of Desmond—he completed in 1465 a convent and a castle near the ford of the Bride. The former he designed as a house of the Franciscans, and it was dedicated, not to the saintly Cyra, who gave her name to the spot, but to St. Brigid of Kildare, the "third patron" of Ireland. The castle was built in marshy ground, in an old fort, probably dating even from the bronze age. What time the old bridge first threw its eight low arches across the wider, and therefore more shallow reach of the Bride we have as yet failed to discover.

As the massive volumes of Luke Wadding's great work are little accessible, we may give the epitome² of his record of the foundation of Kilcrea:—"1465, in Hibernia, viii M(ille) P(assuum) a civitate Corcagiensi, in loco Kilcrea, cænobium observantibus, prope flumen Brigid (Bride), ædificavit Cormacus Mac Cartha, Musgruyensium Dynasta, quod adhuc extat, nullas ferme aliter quam regni relique cænobia hæreticorum passus injurias: ipsum enim sub sua tutela ab Anglis accepit, an. 1614, Cormacus Dermitii, loci Dominus, Catholicus, et semper protexerunt alii viri nobiles, quorum maiores sua sepulchra ibidem constituerunt. Insignes eius incolas Matthæum Oleyn, Martyrem felicem, seu Fheilimeum Mac Cartha, Thadæum Suliuanem, clarissimos confessores, ampliori memoria hic prosequitur Annalista, sed eorum acta a nobis alibi referentur."³ Anthony Bruodín more briefly records it:—"Conventum oppidi de Kilcre liberalissime fundavit Cormacus de Charthy Muskriæ princeps."⁴

It is singular that such skilled workmen as raised the lovely courts of Adare and Irrelagh were absent from Kilcrea; but certainly the plainness of it, Sherkin and Timoleague, despite the pleasing vistas of their aisles, is very marked. I failed to find a carved leaf or figure, a moulded door or shaft, in all the convent, and it is only in the later wing, on the site of the old sacristy, that any attempt at the more ornamental style of windows is found other than the three principal lights of the church. Father Mooney's description of "the finest materials," "exquisite workmanship," "rich marbles," and "finely turned" windows is purely rhetorical. MacCarthy reserved a tomb for himself "close to the great altar," probably in the usual "right hand" (i.e., north-east) corner beside it, where founders were usually buried. Of this tomb nothing but a plain recess is to be found, but its inscribed slab was long legible, and a copy is preserved.

We over-estimate the eventfulness of life in these ancient buildings. Probably down to the death of the founder prayer and fasting reigned in the convent, merriment and feasting in the castle, hospitality in both.

² "Epitome Annalium ordinis Minorum" (Ed. Rome, 1672), p. 356.

³ We give them infra under the years 1581 and (O'Leyn) 1599.

⁴ "Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis" (1668), Liber. v. (p. 356) 99.

The Monks did not neglect the labours of the scriptorium, but only one volume from their hands is known to exist. It is preserved in the Public Library of Rennes, and is an Irish translation of that delightful but mendacious book, *The Travels of Sir John de Maundeville*, the De Rougemont of the fourteenth century. It was written in "Gillcreide Abbey" on Maundy Thursday, 1472, by Finghin, or Florence, O'Mahony of Rosbrin, in the parish of Schull, Co. Cork. Mooney found no such register of the convent existing in Elizabeth's reign as forms so valuable a comment on the more ornate buildings of Adare, but doubtless some such book was once kept at Kilcrea—

"A volume old and brown,
A huge tome, bound
In brass and wild boar's hide,
Wherein was written down
The names of all who had died
In the convent since it was edified."

The benefactors of Kilcrea are therefore forgotten of men, and we think of the solemn words of the author of *Urn Burial*:—"The greater part must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the Register of God, not in the record of man; the night of Time far surpasses the day." Quiet and timely death was the lot of the brethren, but not of their benefactor; the Prince of Muskerry descended not to his grave in peace, he fell by the hands of his brother and nephew in 1495, and was laid in his long-prepared tomb. Long afterwards men read on his slab, "Hic Jacet Cormac filius Dermitti magni McCarthy, Dominus de Musgraigh Flayn, ac istius conventus primus fundator An. Dom. 1495."⁵ Since then unnumbered members of his house have joined him in the chancel of the convent church.

The record of the place is little more than a record of their burials. In 1536 the Four Masters notice the death of Cormac oge MacCarthy, Lord of Muskerry, named "Laidir," the strong; he died at Kilcrea Castle, and was buried in the monastery. Hither, too, was brought the body of his son Teige in 1565; Diarmid, the latter's son, also chief of the district, died at Castle Inchy (Caislean na hinnse) in 1570, and was buried with his fathers. No monument remains to commemorate these.

It is probable that the seclusion of the spot, and its being in the hands of its ancient masters, protected the friars through the revolutions of the Tudors. Bound to poverty, and possessed of but little land, they were not as much a mark for greediness as those of the wealthier and more powerful monasteries. Plate and valuables were easily removed and hidden like their owners in the woods and bogs, so it seems to have been long before any step more formidable than giving the legal ownership of the convent site to some friendly co-religionist was taken against the community.

The Government, however, was tightening its grasp. On Sept. 20th, 1577, under a Commission of the previous 6th of August, it granted the site to Sir Cormack Mac Teige Mac Carthy, Knight, by a lease for 21 years, at 13s. 4d. per annum and a fine of the same amount, giving him the use of the site and possessions of the house of Friars Minors of Kilcrey, Co. Cork, in Muskrey country. In a pardon given to him and others three

⁵ Ware Manuscript, vol. 34, p. 164. Smith's "History of Cork," vol. i., p. 195.

years before, when he was Sheriff of Co. Cork, Dermot Moyle Mac Donell O'Murroghoe (Murphy), of Kilcrey, husbandman, also appears. On July 20th, 1578,⁶ Sir Cormock, being then of Blarney, obtained a grant of Kilkrea under the Queen's Letter of May 22nd.⁷ He was bound not to suffer the Franciscans to return, or to let his lands to any but Protestants.⁸ Probably, however, his conformity to the State Church was no deeper than that of the Earl of Thomond and other nobles. So the Friars lived among the people, supported by the Barretts and others, and were even able to preserve the monastery and church from dilapidation. In 1579, the year after the grant, Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross, was buried within the walls, but no monument marks the place of his tomb.⁹

Then broke out the great rebellion of Gerald Earl of Desmond, dragging to ruin half a province; it was struggling in its last agonies after the cruel death of its leader before destruction fell on Kilcrea. The central parts of Munster had "drunk the cup of trembling" to the dregs, as the marginal notes on that terrible obituary of a tribe, the Desmond Roll, show—

"A thing of nightmare and evil seeming for its stains were the rust of the
Desmonds' slaughter,
Far to the north in their vanishing vastness black bog and forests around
were lying,
Over wild wastes the eagle, flying, saw leagues of ruin and blight and
death,
Heart break and gloom and tears and sighing, and caves of cursing and
bitter breath,
Where the rebel kerne had their hold and fastness."

The year after the hapless Earl's death (Father Mooney tells us) a band of English soldiers overran the valley of the Bride and reached the monastery. The Friars were taken by surprise, but probably escaped to the woods, for the writer tells of no slaughter of any of them at that time, but they had to leave all the sacred relics and utensils to the soldiery. The English burst into the church, "unawed by the sanctity of the place"—more probably on its account zeal was added to the lust of plunder and destruction. They smashed the images and defaced the paintings with which the now bare walls were adorned, and, swarming about the building, some one found the treasures, and a greedy quarrelling horde, all discipline at an end, flung itself upon them. "At that time the church possessed a beautiful representation of the Crucifixion, a rare work of art, indeed, for at each extremity of the cross was a beautiful medallion of the evangelists, exquisitely wrought in gold and silver." With less self-control than those ancient soldiers who "cast lots" instead of quarrelling, the plunderers started a deadly struggle. At length, out of their senses with passion, they drew their swords on each other till two fell mortally wounded, one dying that very evening, while the other only survived till the following morning. "The gold and silver glutted the impious greed

⁶ Calendar of Faints (Elizabeth), No. 3114 and No. 2264

⁷ Ibid. No. 3373.

⁸ Meehan's "Franciscan Monasteries" (Ed. 1869), Chapter v., quoting Mooney.

⁹ Ware's "Bishops," p. 588.

of the survivors, and that noble work of art was lost to the convent for ever."¹⁰ The place apparently was not burned; unlike those convents that had roofs of thatch or shingles, it was slated by heavy slabs, probably set in deep mortar, which rendered the kindling too troublesome for a set of men whose desire for destruction was partly appeased by the defacing of the church, partly quenched by the tragic result of their unbridled excitement.

The community, so far from dying out, like those at Quin and Ennis, even recruited its numbers. Felix or Felim Mac Carthy, to whom Wadding alludes, as given above, had taken an active part in ministering to Earl Desmond's soldiers. When a layman he won golden opinions for his charity and for his hospitality to friend and foe, but, like most warm-hearted men, he was liable to hot outbursts of passion, and in a quarrel with his own brother lost control of himself and "stabbed the unfortunate youth to death." Crushed by the brand of Cain, he fled the world, got a dispensation for his irregularity, and sought to bury his remorse in Kilcrea Convent, being eventually admitted to the habit of the Order. His piety and deep remorse, coupled doubtless with his warm and kindly nature, soon won him the love and respect of the brethren; he was ordained a priest, and living to a great age, became partly paralysed. Men, however, noted with wonder that he retained the use of his fingers and thumb sufficiently for the service of the Altar, and regarded it as a special proof of Divine favour and reward of his penitence.

Father Thady O'Sullivan well deserves Mooney's admiring record. This good man, during the horrors and hardships of the Desmond war, followed the Irish troops, teaching and exhorting them; he restrained their license and prevented many a deed of blood in those fearful times. He had many hairbreadth escapes from the English, and by his wisdom and piety became the chosen friend of MacCraghe, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, who consulted him on all matters of importance, and, what was more, followed his advice. "An old man, broken with the storms" of war, he was a martyr to duty; he took ill and died in December, 1597. The kerne, who loved him so well, determined to bring his body to his own convent for honoured burial. The English held the province, so the Irish could only travel by night, carrying the swathed body tied on a horse. The band got hopelessly lost in the darkness and the wilds, when one of them suggested leaving the task of guide to the instinct of the horse, as so often the wonderful unerring gift of nature surpassed human reason; and the animal led them to the very precinct of the convent, as they not unnaturally believed, by heavenly guidance.¹¹

The building was again in friendly hands, for the Government, on April 12th of the previous year (1596), granted under the Queen's Letter of May 14th, 1595, the house of Friars Minors at Kilcree, in the country of Muskry, Co. Cork, to Mac Carthy, on condition of not levying coynce, livery, or such other imposts.

The Manor, with its Castle, had been confirmed to him many years

¹⁰ Mooney's account is strangely suggestive of Kingsley's fine word-picture of the plundering of Peterborough by the Danes under Hereward.

¹¹ Meehan's "Franciscan Monasteries," Chapter v., quoting Mooney, who was at Kilcrea.

earlier, for on May 2nd, 1589, we find a "fiant" of Queen Elizabeth ordering that Kilcrea, Blarney, Macrowmy and other lands be confirmed to Cormac Carty, fitz Derby, alias mac Diermod, mac Teige, Mac Carthy, and the formal grant was made under a Queen's letter of the lands therein specified.¹² The owner was probably now living at Blarney, and the "spare castle" at Kilcrea suggested to the Government that they should place there a garrison. This was a fatal step for the friars, as, instead of an occasional intrusion, a band of the enemy was permanently established in a tower whose windows overlooked the convent and rendered impossible any attempt at residence, and even an occasional service in the church a task of appalling danger. The rising of James, the "Sugan Earl," had burst out, sweeping at first all before it, so on October 9th, 1599, the Chief Justice of Munster, William Saxey, wrote to the Earl of Essex on the means to be taken to suppress the rebellion of the Geraldines; among other measures he advised that 300 foot and 25 horse should be stationed at Kilcrea, which could be victualled from Cork.¹³ A letter was also written to Cecil with the same suggestion on the 1st of the following December.¹⁴

A force of the English under (Mooney says) the Earl of Essex himself, marched to Kilcrea in pursuit of "the remnant of the Geraldines." They scared away the monks, who escaped, with one exception, Father Matthew O'Leyn, "a man remarkable for his holiness of life and in his 67th year." The English overtook and slew him as he was fording the Bride. The soldiers do not appear to have destroyed the monastery.

Whether any action was taken to garrison Kilcrea is not mentioned in the State Papers, but the place (Windele¹⁵ says the "Abbey") was plundered by O'Neill in 1601. The Carew MSS, p. 512, under 1600, give the castles held by "the Lord or Chieftain of Muskry" as Blarney, Kilcrea, Mocrompy (so the English chose to name Macroom), and Carrignywar, in his personal possession; Castle ny Hinshy occupied by Cormock's mother; Castlemore by Kallaghan mac Teig (Mac Carthy), and Carrigdrohid Castle by Dame Johan Butler for life. Carrignymuk Castle was granted to Kallaghan and his heirs for ever, on payment by the year of a rose or a grain of wheat, an early equivalent of the later "peppercorn rent," usually paid in a little silver box for courtesy. The list was signed by Donough, son of Cormock Carty, the Chief, and endorsed by Carew as "a note of all the lands in Muskrie Clan Dermond, and what lands and duties Sir Cormock mac Teige had upon the country when he was tanist." The Government had grave doubts of the Chief's fealty; they secured him, his wife and son, sending the latter to England, a favourite device, not always successful, for anglicising the rising nobility. "Stone walls do not a prison make," and, by some friendly means, MacCarthy got away on the 29th of September, 1602. Carew was greatly annoyed; he wrote the Lord Deputy, Mountjoy, on the very next day: "Yesternight Cormock McDermod escaped, being in irons and guarded; he being preserved, all his country was secured." It was some comfort that the fugitive's wife

¹² Fiant Nos. 5330 and 5333.

¹³ Calendar of State Papers (Ireland) under year 1599, p. 181.

¹⁴ Meehan's "Franciscan Monasteries," loc cit.

¹⁵ Windele MSS. Library R. I. Acad, "Topography of Co. Cork," p. 328.

was in safe keeping, his son in England, and his castles of Blarney, Kylkrea and Mocrompe were in the writer's hands, the first two having been won by threats and persuasion.¹⁶ In fact, Kilcrea had been surrendered to Captain Slingsby, whom the President had sent to take possession.¹⁷

Cormac lived to make his peace with the English. He first wrote begging the Queen's pardon, but the Privy Council wrote to Sir George Carew (doubtless to his full satisfaction) saying that it was not safe to leave so much land in the hands of one so ill-affected to the Crown as Cormac MacDermod MacCartie.¹⁸ A step calculated rather to alienate friends than to conciliate foes, but characteristic of English rule in Ireland, was then taken. Cormac was given Kilcrea Castle, along with 30 ploughlands out of the estate of Teige MacCarthy (one of the sons of Sir Cormac Mac Teige MacCarthy). Whether the Government got more loyal support from either is discreetly passed over in silence.

More peaceable times followed the betrayal of the unfortunate "Sugan Earl" and the surrender of Kinsale by the Spaniards. King James was believed to favour the faith of his mother, and (with the unhappy, almost inadvertent art of his line for raising hopes foredoomed to disappointment) did nothing to disabuse the Irish till harm was done. His subjects, rejoicing in the death of the hated "Red Queen," proceeded to act on this fallacious idea. The Mass was openly celebrated in the cathedrals and churches, and a number of Franciscan Convents were restored in 1603 and 1604. Among the rest were Kilcrea and Timoleague. The churches were rapidly restored to the Established Church, but the monks, for the most part, were left unmolested, especially where the Irish and older Englishry held the lands round the convents. In this easier but still bitterly resented state of affairs, the monks of Kilcrea naturally sympathised with those who in any way were acting against the Government. We read,¹⁹ for example, how, in April, 1608, on Sunday 17th, a certain Bowlock, formerly serving in the Irish Army under Sir Charles Wilmot, and now an English agent, had been licensed to go to France, and thence came to Brussels. He wrote to the Government that a collection was being made among the officers and soldiers, and the money consigned to a friar named Thomas McCroft. The latter was appointed to go to Ireland to the White Knight and others, to persuade them to take arms against King James, so as to be ready to assist the Earl of Tyrone, "who will come with forces raised by the help of the Pope and the King of Spain." The friar was to start from Ostend or Calais and pass through England, crossing to Cork or some other Munster port, "and to go to the Abbey of Kilcreagh, about which place he was born;" he was a "tall, handsome man, of a black complexion and black hair, somewhat long, and of the age of 30 about." The letter closes by telling how the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell had received a favourable reception and good entertainment at Milan and Count Fuentes.

In 1613 a "Brief relation of the passages in Parliament" tells us that the Irish, "despite the King's gentle hand in restraining his ministers from

¹⁶ Carew MSS., Calendar 1602, p. 343.

¹⁷ Rev. C. B. Gibson, "History of the County of Cork," vol. i., p. 408 (Ed. 1861).

¹⁸ Carew MSS. Calendar, p. 351.

¹⁹ Cal. State Papers (Ireland), p. 653. From "Flanders," vol. 40, in Record Office, London; also Carew MSS.



KILCREA BRIDGE.



KILCREA CASTLE.

execution of the laws in matter of religion," and in contempt of the laws, "have re-edified the monasteries wherein the friars publicly preach and say Mass." Those repaired in 1603 include Ballifaunye, in Westmeath (Multifarney, Multifernam); Kilconel, in Co. Galway; Rosarol, in Mayo (Rosserk, evidently not Rosserrily, in Galway); Buttevant; Kilcrea and Timolog, in Cork; Quin, in Thomond; Ferierlogh, in Desmond (Irrelagh or Muckcross); and in the cities of Kilkenny and Waterford. The people gladly supported the Fathers, reserving for them certain ridges of all kinds of corn, "with mutton, lambs, butter and such like."²⁰ The last year, 1612, the friars of Kilcrea in Munster "had 140 muttons, 30 porks, beside butter, eggs, and such like victuals."²¹ About this time we find in Speed's map the "C (castle) of Killigray" and the "Mo (monastery) of Chylligray" marked upon the "Brid flu."

Sir Cormac, settled in his estates once more, seems to have kept on good terms with the Government, though on one occasion he, or his son, was returned as in their debt for £20 15s. 4d. He died in February, 1617, and was buried in the "Abbey" of Kilcrea, without a monument,²² being succeeded by his son and namesake Cormac, or (as the English preferred to call him) "Charles" Mac Carthy. He held Blarney Castle, his residence, the manor, castle, townlands and hereditaments of Kilcrea; Shany-cloyne; Forrygowne, containing half a ploughland, worth 6d. sterling; the lands of Knockeygrowgie of equal extent and value; Ballenvollen or Knockynwollyn, with the mill (that evidently gave the place its name), and a "weir," together with the Abbey of Kilcrea, containing half a ploughland. The jury found, when taking the Inquisition in the Old Castle of Cork, on January 21st, 1619, that these lands were held (under a grant of Queen Elizabeth to his father, Cormac Mac Dermot, on May 9th, 1589), *in capite*, in knight's service, at a rent of £5 13s. 4d. They also found that Cormac Mac Dermot Mac Teige Mac Carthy died February 22nd, 1616 (1617), and had by a deed of defeazance of a statute, shown to them, dated November 7th, 1615, settled the castle, manor and lands of Kilcrea (14 ploughlands of the same) in trust for the jointure of Lady Mary²³ O'Brien, on her marriage with his son, Charles, or Cormac, aged 21 at his father's death.²⁴ This lady was daughter of Donough O'Brien, the fourth (or "Great") Earl of Thomond, the restorer of Bunratty Castle and of Limerick Cathedral, where his mutilated effigy remains as the Cromwellians (in their hostility to Earl Barnaby) left it.

Cormac was created Viscount Muskerry in 1628. He died in London in 1640, and from his daughter, Elena, descended William Power Keating Trench, created Earl of Clancarthy in 1803, and ancestor of the present Earl.²⁵ Donough, the son of Cormac and second Viscount, commanded the King's forces against the Parliamentary Army. He married a sister

²⁰ Cal. State Papers (Ireland), p. 391.

²¹ Commissioners Report, 12 Nov., 1613, Acta Regia, P.R.O.I.

²² So Mooney loc cit.

²³ Usually called Marge et.

²⁴ Inquisition P.R.O.I., James I., No. 47.

²⁵ Elena, daughter of Cormac oge Mac Carthy, Viscount Muskerry, and sister of Donough, the first Earl, married John Power, from whom descended David Power, whose only daughter and heiress, Frances, married Richard Trench (died 1768). Their son, William Trench (born 1741, died 1816) was created Earl of Clancarty, 11th Feb., 1803.

of the Duke of Ormonde, and was advanced in the peerage to the Earldom in 1658. He was succeeded by his grandson (whose father fell in a sea fight with the Dutch); the young Earl died within a year. His son, Cle Callaghan, succeeded, and his son Donough, the fourth Earl, ruined himself by his loyalty to James II., his estates, worth, it is said, £200,000 per annum, being confiscated. Two of his sons successively bore the title in a foreign land; it became extinct on the death of the younger, an officer in the army of Naples, till (as we saw) it was revived early in the last century in a female line of the same blood.

To go back to the history of the buildings, the Book of Distribution²⁶ tells us little of them, and that little of but small interest. "Muskery, Desertimore Parish, 71, Killcre, owner Lord Muskery, 130 acres 3 roods 8 perches." The annotations on this book, "To Earl of Clancarthy" and "To the Hollow Swords Blades Company," tell of the restoration and subsequent ruin of the Stuarts and their adherents.

After the Civil wars, the Cromwellians dismantled most of the buildings of the "Abbey"; the friars, having taken to flight, appear to have escaped. Captain Bailey appears to have repaired the Chapter House wing and Sacristy for a barrack, placing a garrison in it; this seems to imply that the castle was more or less uninhabitable or perhaps too small. The Protector granted the land to Lord Broghill, but after the Restoration it was given back, as we noted, to its hereditary owner, the Earl of Clancarty.²⁷ In 1680 Thomas Dineley²⁸ mentions the place, but unfortunately not with that fulness and the quaint but recognisable sketches that give such value to others of his notes. "Killkrey Castle and Abbey, whose ruins are yet seen six miles distant from Cork City." He only adds that it was taken by Captain Francis Slingsby for Queen Elizabeth in 1602, and is "upon the south of the river Lee," this being inaccurate, as it is on the river Bride and eleven miles from Cork. After its second confiscation, after 1691, nothing of interest remains to be told, and it was sold with the lands to the company for making Hollow Swords Blades in London.²⁹

It is to be hoped that some one may endeavour to make out the story of the vicissitudes that befel the Friars of Kilcrea during the temporary triumphs of their friends, the supremacy of their deadliest enemies, the easy government of Charles, the favour of James, and the severity of his successors. That through all contingencies the monks held to their ancient home seems certain, for Henry, Bishop of Cloyne, on December 14th, 1731, complains, in a report on the state of his diocese, about the monks of Kilcrea. It seems that in Cloyne Diocese there was only one reputed convent, that of Buttevant—a thatched house in which two old friars had formerly dwelt and begged about the country, but that one was dead. "But the strolling vagabond friars from the monasteries of Aglish . . . and Kinsale, and those from the Abbey of Kilcrea, near Cork, and . . . from Killarney, do much mischief."³⁰ Smith gives a short account of the

²⁶ Book of Distribution and Survey, Co. Cork, P.R.O.I.

²⁷ XV. Rep. Record Comm. (1825). Act of Settlement No. 49 of Roll of xxix., Car. ii., pars 2 facie.

²⁸ Journal Roy. Soc. Antiq. (Ireland), vol. i., Ser. iii.; Consec., vol. x. (1868), p. 85.

²⁹ Ibid. Sales, 1703, Roll ii., Anne, p. 4 f., No. 39, Manor of Kilcrea.

³⁰ Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. "Journal," vol. ii. (1893), p. 48.

place as it was about 1760, but neither he nor John Windele (? 1829) mentions the monks as resident there. The last of the guardians known to us, as named by Windele, was the Rev. E. Hogan, of Cork, living in 1832, but possibly the succession was continued, as we have shown was the case at Askeaton, Co. Limerick, till a later date. These nominal appointments, however, have little or no interest compared to the history of monks actually connected with their old home. The friars are said to have lived in the curious old house on the eastern edge of the Abbey field. Windele³¹ preserves a legend how, on the expulsion of the monks from the "Abbey," a flock of rooks took possession of the trees in the avenue and held "synods" in the belfry, but it had been more to the point had he sought for recollections of the last monks among the older inhabitants of the valley. It ought to have been feasible to have done it at the time, for as his notes seem dated 1829 (three years before the death of the last guardian), human memory might have reached back nearly to 1780. Despite the ever-increasing tendency of tradition to carry fewer facts, and those less uninjured, down a shorter length of the ladder of years, I was able to find in 1878 two people who remembered Father John Hogan, the last friar of Quin, Co. Clare. His tomb, with the pathetic text, "*Qui seminat in lachrymis exultatione metet*," shows that he had died 53 years previously, so possibly Windele might have been more fortunate in collecting traditions of the later friars of the venerable Abbey of Kilcrea.³²

THE "ABBEY" OF KILCREA.

We avoided using the term "Abbey" as far as possible in the earlier part of this paper, but (as indeed all over Ireland) local custom uses the word for all monasteries and even collegiate churches, and it has been popularly applied to Kilcrea since, at least, 1619, we will use it without scruple in future. Warning is indeed hardly necessary for Irish readers accustomed to the expression, but we have seen antiquaries from the outer world annoyed and even offended by its loose application.

As to its dates, the records only help us as to the year of its foundation; the Four Masters, Wadding, Bruodin and Ware agree in placing this in 1465 to 1470, the Annals of Ulster in 1478. The only other date of possible architectural value is that of its restoration, 1603-1608. Save in the sacristy, chiefly the upper storey and the side "scullery," we see little trace of work so late as this in the ruins, yet there are several points suggestive of after-thoughts, such as the double wall to the north of the church, the outer garderobe, and the belfry, which seem to be additions, imperfectly

³¹ MS. Topography of County Cork.

³² As a step towards the bibliography of Kilcrea we give the following:—Dr. Charles Smith's "History of Cork" (1765); "Dublin Penny Journal," vol. ii. (1833-4); Rev. C. B. Gibson's "History of Cork" (1861); Miss Cusack's "History of Cork"; Rev. C. P. Meehan's "Franciscan Monasteries" (1869); Rev. M. Archdall's "Monasticon Hibernicum"; Rev. L. Wadding's "Annales Minorum." Notes appear on the Kilcrea Souterrain, Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. x. (1864-6). On the Abbey and Castle, Roy. Soc. Antiq. (Ire.), vol. i., ser. iii., p. 85 (1868), and vol. 5., ser. ii., and vol. ii., ser. v. (1893) p. 268; Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc., vol. ii. (1893), p. 48. On the bronze celt found at Kilcrea Castle see Sir W. Wilde, "Catalogue," R. I. Acad., p. 364; W. C. Borlase, "Dolmens of Ireland," p. 681. Views and Short Accounts, Crofton Croker, "South of Ireland," p. 287; G. S. Measom's "Guide, G. S. W. Railway" (1866), p. 381.

agreeing with the original plan. The question of the transept and aisles may evoke variant answers. All we can say is that the larger windows of the first are of the same period as those of the nave and chancel. All the buildings seem to remain, despite dilapidation, the only suggestion of a lost building is the projecting side jamb of a door near the north porch. No foundations show in the field.

The Abbey consists of a church, with a transept and south aisle, divided into nave and choir by a fine belfry. There are the usual conventual buildings round a cloister to the north, as, despite the gloom of our climate, is perhaps more frequent here than in sunnier climes, and which must always have kept the domicile gloomy, chilly and damp. The architecture, as we noted, is of the plainest description, though effective, in the nave especially. The arcades of it and the transept make a series of most beautiful vistas, despite the simplicity of their design, giving the interior an air of spaciousness and beauty which otherwise would be entirely lacking in a building of the same extent. Most of the windows are plain pointed lights, or oblong opes. The recurrence of even dimensions, and the careful laying out of every part of the building on the square is very marked. In plan the ruin resembles its sister monasteries of Timoleague and Sherkin, differing much from those of Kerry, Limerick and Clare, save that it is similar, though reversed, to that of Askeaton, and closely akin to Kilmallock. The plan is that especially favoured by the Dominicans, as giving a large concentrated space at the junction of the nave and transept where a pulpit evidently stood, and the place was eminently suitable for a crowd of lay auditors outside the chancel.

THE NAVE is a few inches over 48 feet long and 23 feet wide; the north wall is for most of its extent smooth plastered, with lines suggestive of panelling here and there; it was probably painted, though some churches of the Order were panelled with wood, as at Creevaley. This probably accounts for the extensive and unlovely spaces of blank wall in so many of our abbeys and churches. The west door is plain and pointed, with a recess for a holy water stoup outside to the right. Overhead is the frame of the great west window; it had two shafts interlacing, and with heading pieces over the main lights, but, as in the other large windows of the church, all the tracery is removed. Inside there are few features; the south wall has the small pointed ope of a stoup, chamfered, and with a round basin. Beyond it is the arcade of three arches, pointed and recessed, resting on circular piers, with plain mouldings, being roughly picked. They were probably stuccoed and painted. These mural paintings were usually leaf and scroll work, with grotesque animals in dark red and black, often on a yellow ground, but of course all trace has vanished in Kilcrea. We may form some idea of the appearance of these paintings from the raised stucco work of Quin, the paintings found at St. Audoen's, Dublin, the so-called "frescoes" at Knockmoy, and decorative paintings at Corcomroe, Clare Island, Kilkenny and elsewhere; the art is usually very poor. In the north wall is a "squint," a little sloping ope, from the west staircase in the wall it looks towards the altars in the transept, and may have been used by sick brethren. I have heard a tradition that the door in the corresponding position in Quin led to a gallery for that purpose, and there is a similar "squint" at Askeaton looking from the upper west room into the transept; near the east end are two large clerestory windows over-

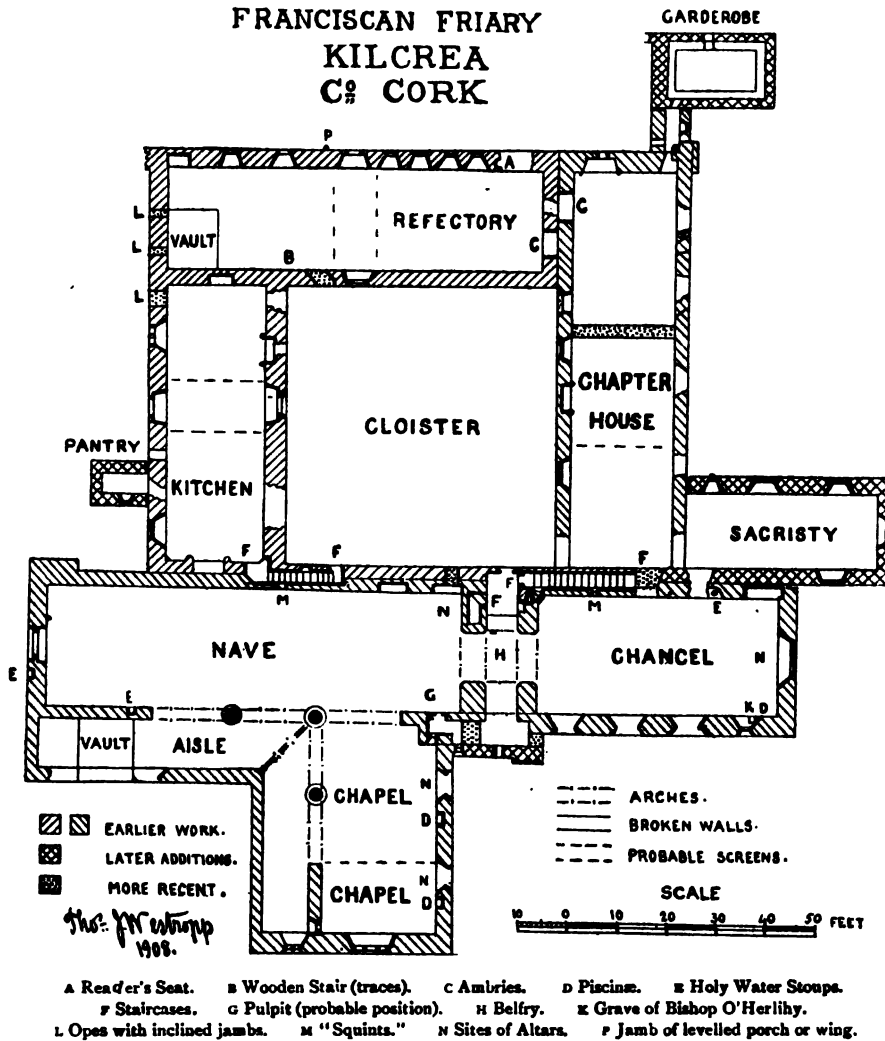


NAVE, TRANSEPT AND CHOIR ARCH, KILCREA ABBEY.



THE REFECTORY, KILCREA ABBEY.

looking the cloister. The western is closed; the eastern has two lights, the shaft gone, but the head hangs in a very precarious condition. Under each window is a deep opening into the cloister walk, the eastern is a large recess containing a slab with a Calvary cross, stepped, and with an interlaced head forming a quadruple knot. It is 6 ft. 9 in. long and over 3 ft. wide,



with a bevelled edge and no trace of an inscription. Two other tombstones, probably of the 17th century, remain near it, one set upside down, at a modern grave. The devices are, respectively, a double cross, with I.H.S., crowned by a cross, and (the other) a circle round a combined saltier and Latin cross. Opposite, between the transept and the belfry, is the deep recess of a high, pointed window; it is 6 ft. 8 in. through the wall to the light,

and 1 ft. 5 in. deep outside, on account of the curious little passage from the belfry hereafter described. Under it is the low door of the passage, the earth being much raised by burials. It led, I believe, to the pulpit, and was lit by a small window slit (suggestive of a confessional) looking into the transept.

THE TRANSEPT, or, more accurately, the south chapel (as there is no corresponding feature to the north) is $23\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide and 44ft. 10 in. deep. High up in the south gable remain the splay and side jambs of a large defaced window; from its width it probably had three shafts, and possibly resembled the east and west windows in design. It is partially built up, so may have been defaced at a comparatively early period (like the east window), and then closed to save glazing. There were evidently two chapels, with altars under the windows of the eastern wall; each had a piscina to the south, and was probably divided by screens, as the more eastern has a separate pointed entrance from the aisle along the west side. The more northern chapel was entered from the arcade. The window frames are torn out, but the splays have round heads of beautifully fitted sloped single blocks running through the entire depth of the wall. We have recently figured such a splay at Kilmacreehy, Clare.³³ Like those at Kilcrea, it possibly belongs to the latest 15th or early 16th century. The aisle opens by two large arches into the chapel; the remaining southern third of the length has a wall only pierced by the small door to the southern chapel. The end of the aisle is lit by a double light, with ogee heads, having an angular hood outside and a very flat, shouldered arch inside. A skew arch rose from the angle of the aisle wall to the junction of the two arcades; it has, however, fallen, save the springing blocks. The aisle is usually 10 feet wide; the reach beside the nave is $45\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. It had no west light, and is partly blocked by a vault, which had fallen open, displaying a charnel house with a great heap of bones, eight skulls, and a coffin. It is held in great local respect, and offerings, chiefly of bottles and vessels, are heaped at it, as at holy trees and wells. Strangely enough, it does not fill the end of the aisle, but leaves a little space 10 feet square to the west. The south wall of the aisle is greatly broken, but retains the lower part of the splay of one window in the middle of it.

Here I may note that in no other ruin examined by me in Ireland have I ever seen so many coffin plates; they project from the earth, and lie in heaps in recesses and corners everywhere, both in the church and the domicile. The inscriptions are usually legible, and if transcribed might afford a valuable substitute for a burial register, not only for the neighbourhood, but for the city of Cork, from which many families bring their dead to lay them in this holy ground—one cause of the unseemly overcrowding.

THE BELFRY. The most striking feature in the ruin is the plain lofty belfry, said to be 80 feet high, so simple, yet so great an ornament to the long fair valley and the wooded glens that look towards it. It has no large windows, only plain, narrow slits; none of the usual great ope to let out the sound of the bells, no string courses, or those bold stepped battlements that make even the plainest towers things of grace and beauty, all stern and plain, thereby gaining an unmerited appearance of massive

³³ Journal of the Limerick Field Club (1908).

strength and towering height, unbroken save by the high pitched weather ledges of the roof. It rests on four piers, and measures $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet through. The arches are low, round and plain, once smooth plastered. The piers have only a chamfer, with stopped ends at the angles. There are no corbels for a rood loft, or a recess over the arch for a rood, as at Rosserrila. The extensive space may have been painted, perhaps, as was usual in England and elsewhere, by a "Doom," or painting of the terrors of the Judgment Day, which must have been a powerful adjunct to the effect of the great "Dies Iræ," sung by the unseen choir beyond. The main arches are about 10 feet wide, the side ones $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The interspace had no vaults but floors. A spiral staircase of 15 steps, 28 inches wide, led to this at the north-east corner, and a passage, roofed and floored with slabs, led over the western arch, turning at the south-west corner, lit by slits from the nave. A staircase of 17 steps rose to a door in the south side leading to a floor in the tower; four more steps led to the door into the attic of the chancel roof. This was formerly lit by a rude slit in the apex of the east gable of the choir. By eleven more steps is reached a little interior turret resting on corbelling in the north-east corner of the tower; in it the stairs rise spirally. The tower sets back, leaving a ledge for the second floor or loft. Two more lofts were reached from the turret, 13 steps leading to the upper one, and 15 from it to the battlements—some 63 steps in all. The turret rose above the walls of the tower; the coping is all gone, but one can go round the giddy summit on the gutters which discharged the rain through plain projecting gargoyles. None of the blocks remain with mortices for the support of the great beams to which the bells were hung, such as remain in other towers. The opes in the belfry, and indeed generally through the Abbey, were turned over wicker work. Under the tower to the south is a small recess, 13 feet long by 5 feet 4 inches wide, projecting 6 feet 10 inches from the face of the building. It is only lit by a narrow slit entered from the outside to the east, and leading into the nave, as we noted under the sill of the corner window, probably to a pulpit. All its doors are built up.

THE CHANCEL. This wing measures 48 ft. 2 in. x 23 ft. 2 in., and was lit by four windows to the south and one to the east. Of the former, the eastern is alone perfect—a tall, slightly pointed light. The frame of the east window shows that it had three interlacing shafts, with subsidiary head arches, but the tracery is gone, and it is partly built up. It stood high up the wall, leaving ample verge for the high altar and altarpiece, but of these no trace remains. We have noted the plain tomb in the north-east corner; if Ware was right, the monument lay in his day in the middle of the chancel, but writers of that time were not much impressed with the importance of accurately locating the monuments noted by them, and he probably had not seen the place. The only old tombstone I found in the chancel had a cross, with fleurs de lys at the upper ends, incised on an uninscribed slab. The MacCarthy tombstone is not visible, and Windele did not see it. In the south-east angle was buried Thomas O'Herlihy, Bishop of Ross. In the north wall two broken opes (one leading to the Sacristy, has the round basin of a stoup), and a slit from the eastern staircæse are the only features. There were piscinæ, now built up, in the opposite corner.

THE SACRISTY forms a separate wing, different in style and stonework from the rest of the building. Much, at least, of the upper part probably

dates from the restoration of 1603-8. It interferes with the older features of the "Chapter wing," covering one window and encroaching on another, showing that the former Sacristy was smaller; its walls do not bond into that wall, and it seems to abut against the church, the wall between them being double. It is an oblong room, 15 ft. 8 in. to 16 ft 5 in. wide, and 39½ ft. long. The lower floor has a south window of two lights, with pointed heads and an outer square hood; two similar lights (but with ogee heads) are in the north wall, and two more of the same design, one in each storey of the east end. The upper is closed by a late fireplace and chimney, probably of the military occupation. The top room has five double lights, with plain oblong opes and shafts to the south and six more to the north, with pointed heads. The three eastern are built up with red slate slabs for sills. On the ground floor at the north-west corner is a small low recess with a hollowed sill, probably like the elaborate one at Quin, for disposing of the water used in washing the altar furniture and linen, as the piscina served the sacred utensils.

CHAPTER HOUSE WING. This has been much injured; every window in the lower storey is reduced to a ragged gap; a wall built across the room and later fireplaces made at the large north window and next the cloister, probably when used as a barrack. The upper part strongly recalls the corresponding room at Quin, and, like it, has a large double light window, with a small one to the west and a door and passage leading to a garderobe tower at the north-east corner. The north window is partly closed, and in the west wall near it is a curious round recess. There are eight plain windows, with oblong lights to the east, one closed by the Sacristy; south from this and beside it a small pointed door led to the upper floor of that building. Six plain oblong lights look into the cloister westward. The lower storey of the Chapter wing had evidently three apartments. The middle one was possibly the actual Chapter Room. The upper was reached by a staircase from the belfry, hereafter described. There was no door into the upper rooms to the north of the cloister. There was evidently a garderobe in a small turret at the north-east, but for obvious reasons a larger one was built outside it to the north, and the first used for other purposes the lower part as a small cell, the upper as a well-ventilated passage. There are neat pointed doors at each end and slits to the side. The admirable sanitation of our monasteries is usually all that could be desired, even for a modern building.

CLOISTERGARTH. The centre of the convent is a court almost exactly 56½ feet square; it had no arcade, but a pent house roof rested on plain corbels and probably wooden posts; it had a water ledge above it. Chamfered pointed doors led from the walk to the various buildings round it. Over the roof there were oblong lights (five to the west, nine to the north, and six to the east) on three sides, and the two clerestory lights of the nave to the south, at which side the roof rested on the lower wall built against the church wall, as already noted. There were three doors to the east, one each to the west and north, a door to the belfry, and one to the western stairs in the south. The corbels lie ten to east, nine to north, and eight to west, with four at the eastern end of the north side. The two stone staircases are reached from the cloister, the eastern by a pointed door to the north recess, under the belfry; it is reset and evidently an after-thought; probably it was removed from some other part of the cloister,

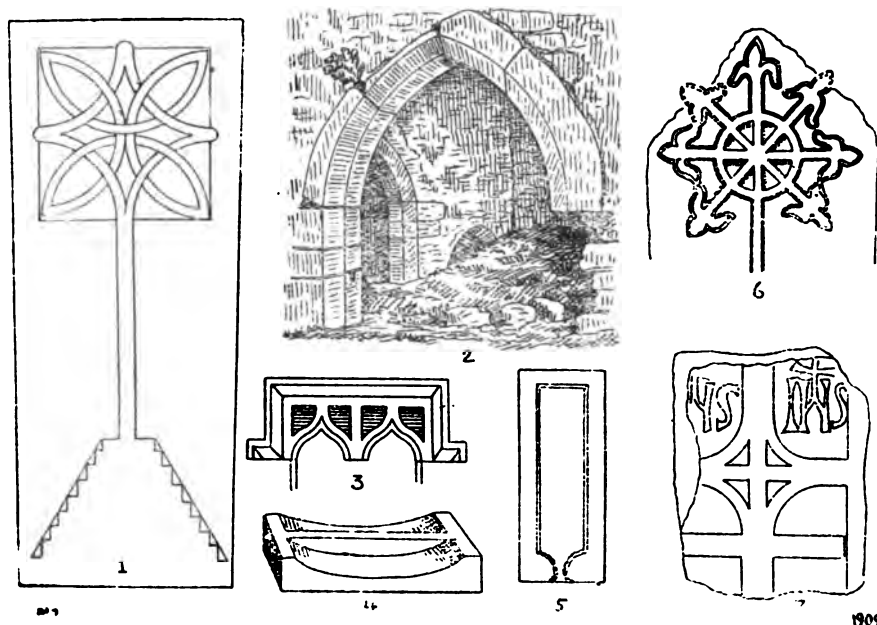


THE CHAPTER HOUSE WING, KILCREA ABBEY.



THE CLOISTER (N.W. ANGLE), KILCREA ABBEY.

being of identical size and pattern. Here we find the spiral stair, leading by 15 steps without a newel to the roof, and a lower floor from which the belfry stair was reached. A third stair ran eastward up the wall, leading by 13 steps, lit from the chancel, to a door to the upper room of the Chapter wing. Beside the spiral stair a small nearly buried arch, neatly chamfered, led probably into the usual small recess at the foot of spiral stairs. The western stairs are closely similar, the same number of steps straight up the wall rising westward, with a slit to the nave. They lead to the upper floor of the kitchen wing or west rooms.



KILCREA ABBEY.

1, 6, & 7 Early Tombstones. 2 Arches at Belfry stairs. 3 Typical ogee-headed window.
4 & 5 Kilcrea Castle, blocks of the water table.

KITCHEN WING. These rooms are much defaced and have several modern additions. Each storey has a large fireplace to the south, with slate flags for hearths; the wall sets back for the upper floor. In this room the Rev. C. Coakley unearthed several of the rudely dressed slabs of red slate, once used for the convent roof; the larger about 10 in. x 8 in., the smaller 7 in x 5 in., with one or more well picked holes for nails. They were too clumsy to fit closely, and must have been laid in thick mortar, as we have seen in some old buildings of the 18th century. Going northward we see in the west wall an inserted window (circa 1603-8), with two oblong lights; over it a projecting drain slab. Next these is an unbonded late addition or scullery, with drains for sinks; a pointed door like those in the cloister, and opposite one of them. This implies a cross passage, with two basement rooms. To complete our notes, we may add that the other features are of little interest, save the remains of another late in-

sented window of two oblong opes. In the outer face of the wall are seen three unaccountable features, apparently the inclined jambs, in two cases with lintels, of very early doors. They are probably late, but their character and use are problematic. One occurs near the north-west corner of this wing, two in the end of the next room. A large broken fireplace adjoins the cloister wall, and there is a recess in the north wall. Overhead was an entrance to the upper north rooms, at one time the only means of access to them.

THE REFECTIONARY WING, or north wing, is now 76½ feet long by nearly 21 feet wide, but was once (like the kitchen wing) divided by a passage into two rooms. A later skew door at the north-west angle of the cloister led by a wooden staircase to the upper rooms. Clear trace remains of this structure on the face of the wall. Two similar doors to the north and south mark a porch or passage; near the outer one is the projecting jamb already mentioned. The large vault of the Hayes family occupies much of the western room. The eastern was the Refectory; it was about 37 feet long and had four fine pointed windows, with lights 21 inches wide. The splays were smooth plastered. This is only visible in the second, which had been built up. East of these a large ragged gap marks what was certainly a window, in which stood the Reader's desk. The curved back of his seat still remains in the west jamb. In the east wall of the room was a recess, turned over wicker, running through the wall beside it. At the other side was a similar recess through the wall of the Chapter wing, each being closed by the other wall, but the second has been broken through.

The upper storey was lit by eight oblong lights to the north, and six to the cloister. The floor rested on eleven large beams, fitting into oblong holes, and partly resting on the set-back of the wall. The west end had three small irregular slits.

The walls of this convent vary greatly in thickness. The double walls are 7 feet thick, the domicile outer walls 3½ to 4 feet, the cloister walls 3 ft. 9 in., the Sacristy 2 ft. 7 in., the aisle 2 feet, and the garderobe 1 ft. 11 in. In closing this account I can only express a hope that this interesting ruin, as well as the castle, may be vested for preservation, preferably in the Board of Works, as some expert oversight is absolutely necessary, should any repairs be undertaken; for unskilled restoration, however well intentioned, is much to be deprecated, and may do untold injury, as at Sligo Abbey and elsewhere.

THE BRIDGE.

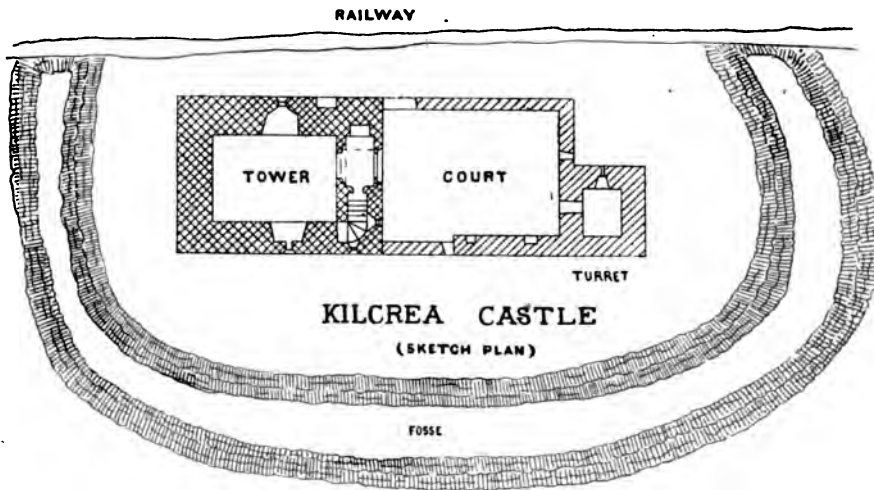
This picturesque old structure might, for any appearance to the contrary, be as old as the neighbouring ruins. The statement that Father O'Leyn was shot by the soldiers of Essex while fording the Bride in 1599³⁴ may, however, imply a later date for the structure. The local belief attributes it to Cromwellian times, and says there is a date cut on it, which Father Coakley and I failed to find. It had eight arches, as shown by Windele, and by Hall. The three northern were removed when the river

³⁴ The author of "The Monks of Kilcrea," by a happy inspiration, makes one of the guests tell how "his horse was lost in fording the Bride," an excellent touch of local colour.

was deepened, and a single arch substituted. The others are intact. The roadway is only nine feet wide, with an angular recess to the east, in which passengers could stand when carts were passing. The bridge shows the width of the river in former days, which must have greatly added to the picturesque nature of the surroundings, as its deep channel now conceals it till we reach the banks.

KILCREA CASTLE.

The Mac Carthys' Castle lies to the west of the Abbey, the railway from Cork to Macroom running about 13 feet from its walls, and partly obliterating its earthwork. The ruin consists of a peel tower, 49 feet long east and west and 36 feet wide. To the east is a small lawn or court,



44 feet by about 29 feet to 31 feet inside. These buildings occupy part of the platform of a low earthwork, rising five or six feet over the field, and about 10 feet over the fosse. There is no inner or outer ring, and the structure measures 176 feet across its enclosure, and 225 feet over the fosse taking it east and west. Judging from the old Ordnance Survey map, by far the larger portion lay to the north of the buildings before the railway was cut through.

The question as usual arises of the age of the entrenchment. Was it made as an accessory to the defences of the tower? Was it an earlier "castle" of mediæval times? Or, was it of prehistoric date? In this case one feels bound to accept the last as true, for a fine bronze celt (12½ inches long by 8½ inches over the blades, and three-eighths of an inch thick) was found within its precinct³⁵ and presented to the Museum of the Royal

³⁵ Wilde's Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy collection, p. 364; Borlase's "Dolmens of Ireland," p. 681. It is similar to casts from an ancient mould from Spain. See Evans' "Bronze Age," fig. 515.

Irish Academy by Sir Matthew Barrington, Baronet. Though (as we long since pointed out) the mere finding of a single early object within the ambit of a fort does not prove the early date of the latter, it at least raises a strong probability of its early origin, not to be hastily set aside as some would have us to do.

The tower supports the record of its having been built in the middle of the fifteenth century, slightly earlier than the Abbey, and by the same founder, Cormac mor Mac Carthy. It is entered by a pointed and recessed door, not defended by a bartizan or shot holes, but within the porch is the usual "murder hole," no mean defence when the door was broken in and the enemies were trying to force the weaker inner doors.

The porch is 10 ft. 3 in. deep, the inner room 29 ft. 3 in. long by 19 ft. 7 in. wide. The spiral stair is in excellent preservation in the south-east angle of the tower. There are five storeys, the floors of the third and fifth rest on strong vaults. The lower room has windows with large and deep recesses to the sides and the west end, and several plain ambries or recesses. The floor over it rested on large plain corbels, and had a deep west window, with a passage through the wall southward to a slit at the angle. Thirteen steps lead to this second floor. At the 28th step we reach a cross passage at the third floor; along the east wall, at the 43rd step, is the fourth floor; at the 67th is the top room, whence a straight stair through the southern part of the east wall led by 20 steps to the battlements, which have large water tables, slightly hollowed, the joints covered by flat or neatly ridged slabs. Eight straight steps lead up the south-east turret, past which a long stone spout conveyed the water to the south gutters.

Returning to the lower storeys, we examine the third, reached through the passage in the east wall. Its three windows are defaced. A lintelled door leads to a garderobe, with loops to the north and east. The room has the usual deeply recessed windows; the south is pointed, the north broken, and a pointed door leads to the lobby. The fourth storey is closely similar, being reached by another east lobby (the marks of the wicker centres are very well preserved on its vault). It is reached by six steps up from the spiral stair. There is a little garderobe (or perhaps bartizan) at the northern end. The room had a floor resting on large beams, evidently when these rotted (being built into the wall) a new floor was laid on timbers supported by corbels to the side of the older holes. The entrance is through a pointed door from the lobby, in a deep recess, round which the "garderobe" bends. Each of these rooms has oblong end windows in deep bays. The fourth was partly lit by the lobby window, with two fairly large late oblong lights. The shaft is removed; it was placed opposite to the door.

The top or state room was, as usual, a fine apartment, lit on each side by large double windows, with ogee heads of excellent workmanship. The end ones have deep recesses under high pointed arches; the eastern frames a beautiful distant view of the Abbey. The door from the stair is pointed. A late fireplace has been inserted to the north side of the room, and there is a window in the north-east corner.

Descending again to the courtyard, we find little needing detailed description; the ivy³⁸ and dilapidation leave few features visible. The

³⁸ The ivy has been cut on the Abbey, which has been greatly disclosed by the process compared to its condition on my first two visits thither in 1890.

entrance has vanished; it may have been near the tower in the gap in the north wall. A turret stands at the south-east angle. Strange to say, it does not flank (as it could easily have been built to do) the long reach of the south wall, which extends for 111 feet. The tower has a vaulted under storey 11 ft. 7 in. north and south by 9 ft 2 in. wide. It has loops to the north and south, a second storey and a side turret on corbelling, a door leading from it to the south battlements, but the upper part is concealed by thick ivy.

We must here close these notes, apologising less for their inevitable dryness and unattractiveness to the majority of readers than for their imperfections. We have, however, a duty to perform in laying up records for future generations of Irish antiquaries. Had writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century realised this duty, our position must have been very different, and the dawn of descriptive Irish archæology might by this time have broadened into day.

[I have to thank, besides Mr. James Coleman, the Rev. C. Coakley, of Farran, for his unwearying assistance when I planned the Abbey, as well as his kind hospitality on each of my latter visits.]

Admiral Penn, William Penn, and their Descendants in the Co. Cork.

(Continued from p. 114.)

"5th (August 5th, 1645). About two in the morning arrived here a bark with provisions from Cork; being all that possibly could for the present be gleaned by my lord. The master of the bark, notwithstanding the particular engagements of wife and children in the town, yet seeing how the enemy had blocked up the harbour, refused to go in. I told him what a shame it was for him to neglect his family in so great necessity, and how much his timorousness would discourage others; yet all this would not work upon him. At last I told him (by God's blessing) his bark, being a fitting vessel for that purpose, should go in; and if he would not adventure willingly, he should be seized to the mast, and carried in whether he would or no. At last, having considered on it, he consented to go in. I put on board of him six barrels of powder from our ship, four from Captain Phillips, and four from Captain Bray, with such oil as I had, at the request of the Governor, formerly gotten for medicaments for the wounded soldiers, which I attempted before to send in in our yawl. And for the better enabling this bark in her passage, we manned her, moreover, with four men out of each ship.* I gave our men half crown apiece to encourage them; fitted them with arms, fireworks, &c.;

* From this entry it is evident that the men-of-war were not actually in the harbour of Youghal, but anchored in the bay, probably opposite to where the lighthouse now stands, it being the summer season whilst they were there.

Kingdom. He appears to have continued in Ireland, at Macroom Castle, during the year 1656. But the "Memorials," it is disappointing to find, throw no further light on his mode of life whilst in that part of our county.

Hepworth Dixon's "Life of William Penn" (1852) informs us that after Cromwell had generously restored him to his family and estates, Admiral Penn was no sooner at liberty than he commenced a new series of intrigues. His own profession closed to him, he affected to give up politics and public business, and taking his family with him removed into Ireland, living for several years in the unmolested enjoyment of the estates which had been given for faithful services to the Commonwealth; but at the same time using his utmost influence to prepare a way for the return of the exiled princes.

"During these years his son William rapidly improved under the direction of a private tutor from England in useful and elegant scholarship. He exhibited already rare aptitude for business, and his father saw no reason to apprehend that he would not inherit to the full his own bold and worldly ambition. In person he was tall and slender; but his limbs were well knit, and he had a passionate fondness for field sports, boating, and other manly exercises. In the elementary parts of his education he had made such progress that the Admiral thought him ready to begin his studies at the university, and it was resolved he should go to Oxford (from Macroom).

"As soon as the news of Cromwell's death, in September, 1659, reached Ireland, the Admiral put himself in communication with his Munster friends; but on comparing ideas it was thought unwise to commit themselves by any forward step in favour of Charles. . . . William Penn's removal to Oxford was deferred. During the year after the Protector's death the family remained at their Irish estates; William finishing his studies with his tutor, his father in secret but active correspondence with Lord Broghill and other powerful malcontents in the neighbourhood; but as soon as the intelligence of Richard Cromwell's deposition came to hand, the Admiral saw that the time had arrived for decisive measures, and he threw off the mask, openly declared for Charles Stuart, and immediately set off for the Low Countries to pay his court and offer his sword to Charles, who was so glad to see him that he conferred on him the order of knighthood and engaged him in a special service."

Admiral Penn appears to have never again visited his Irish home at Macroom Castle, and it seems still more probable that he never once visited his subsequently acquired property around Shanagarry Castle, in the vicinity of Cloyne.

Having been on the 27th August, 1660, appointed Governor of the King's Castleparke Fort, Kinsale, and the foot company stationed there for its defence and safety, Sir William Penn made known to the King that his infirmities would not suffer him to undergo the charge of said government and company, so the King, in July, 1669, appointed Captain Sir Richard Rooth governor instead.—("Council Book of Kinsale").

In 1665 Admiral Penn, now back in England, sent his son to Dublin, where his friend the Duke of Ormonde was then living as Viceroy of Ireland. This circumstance caused young William Penn to serve as a Volunteer at Carrickfergus—a taste of military glory which made him



BALLYMALOE, NEAR CLOYNE.



ST. MARY'S CHURCH TOWER, YOUGHAL.
Used for Signalling to Admiral Penn's Flagship.

anxious to adopt the sword as a profession; but his father refused to allow him to join the regular army; and from this time (continues Hepworth Dixon) the family affairs of Ireland occupied the whole of William Penn's attention for several months.

"The lands granted by Cromwell at Macroom went back to the Earl of Clancarty. The Admiral, however, had taken too much care of his fortunes to suffer by any new changes. The King himself wrote to the Duke of Ormonde to see that his faithful servant received no injury in his estate, so that in the end he got in exchange for Macroom a still nobler property in the Barony of Imokilly, including Shanagarry Castle and the lands lying in its immediate neighbourhood.

"The new grant was, of course, not free from other claims, and vexatious suits were maintained against the new proprietor for several years. One of the principal persons who disputed the right of the Crown to give away the Shanagarry estates was Colonel Wallis;⁷ and William Penn was ordered to put himself into communication with this gentleman. He displayed in the management of the business an address and prudence which astonished the Admiral, who thereupon gave up the entire charge of the suit into his hands. This Irish property was the chief dependence of the family, and they always entertained the idea of settling on it as a permanent residence.

"Nor did his ducal friend overlook his marvellous aptitude for affairs; for he appointed him to what we should now call the chief commissariat officer to the fleet stationed at Kinsale—a responsible post, which he filled to the entire satisfaction of his employer.

"But it was in London, not Kinsale or Shanagarry, that the great question of the Irish estates was to be settled.

"The Land Commissioners were then sitting. The Admiral had begun to feel a greater degree of confidence in his son's tact and judgment than in his own; and he wrote to desire that he would get the family affairs into an orderly state, and then come over and see the Commissioners—at the same time giving him some shrewd worldly hints as to the conduct of the victualling department of Kinsale, and begging him to make the passage in calm weather, so as not to run any risk.

"Penn joyfully obeyed his father's summons, as he had not seen his mother and sister for more than a year; and arrived in London in the month of November. The business was soon arranged. After hearing the evidence the Land Commissioners confirmed the grant of Shanagarry. . . . Penn did not remain long in London. His father, anxious to keep him apart from his Puritan friends, sent him again into Ireland. But the youth had not resided more than a few months at Shanagarry Castle before one of those incidents occurred which destroy in a day the most elaborate attempts to thwart the instincts of nature. When the Admiral in England was pluming himself on the triumphs of his worldly wisdom, his son, on one of his frequent visits to Cork, heard by accident that his old Oxford acquaintance, Thomas Loe, was in the city, and

⁷ Lewis's Dictionary (1837) states that the Wallis family up to 1798 occupied Ballycrenan Castle, a couple of miles east of Shanagarry. They had purchased it soon after the abdication of James II.

intended to preach that night. Curiosity prompted him to stay and listen. From that night he was a Quaker in heart.*

"He now began to attend the meetings of this despised and persecuted sect. On the 3rd September, 1667, a meeting of these harmless people was being held in Cork, when a company of lawless soldiers broke in upon them, made the whole congregation prisoners, and carried them before the mayor on a charge of riot and tumultuous assembly. Seeing William Penn, lord of Shanagarry, and intimate friend of the Viceroy, among the prisoners, the magistrate wished to set him at liberty on giving his bond to keep the peace; but not knowing that he had violated any law he refused, and went to gaol with the rest. From the prison he wrote to his friend the Earl of Ossory (Orrery?), Lord President of Munster, giving an account of his arrest and detention. An order was, of course, sent to the mayor for his immediate discharge."

How Admiral Penn felt and acted on his son's return to England as a professed Quaker has been already narrated. Of the Admiral himself there is little further to chronicle so far as regards any direct relations with our county.

"Admiral Penn's letters to his son in Ireland, of which many remain, are almost wholly filled with instructions respecting his estates. Of these letters the 'Memorials' give the following one as exhibiting the kindness of his nature:—

"Son William—The Bearer is Major Rouse, one of my tenants in Eniskelly (sic);; I desire you to afford him all the Irish favour in your power, and that you continue him my tenant as at easy terms for him as conveniently you may. If any of the King's ships are at Kinsale, or Cork, &c., and he hath occasion for convoy, write to the Commander to afford it him. I am, your affectionate father.—W. P.

"Navy Office, May 5th ('66)."

As Christopher Rye was the Mayor of Cork in 1667 and the succeeding

* In "Passages from the Life and Writings of William Penn," published in Philadelphia, it is stated (page 8) that while William Penn was but a child, living near Cork (i.e., at Macroom Castle) with his father, Thomas Loe came thither. When it was rumoured that a Quaker was coming from England, his father proposed to some others to be like the noble Bereans and hear him before they judged him. He accordingly sent to Thomas Loe to come to his house, where he had a meeting in the family. Though William was very young, he noticed the effect Thomas Loe's preaching had on the hearers. A black servant of his father's could not restrain himself from weeping aloud, and little William, looking on his father, saw the tears running down his cheeks also. He then thought within himself, "What if they would all be Quakers? This opportunity he never quite forgot; the remembrance of it still recurring at times." The same work (kindly lent the present writer by Mr. G. C. Beale) gives some further particulars (p. 15) as to William Penn's meeting with Thomas Loe in Cork in 1647. "Being accidentally on business in Cork, he went into a shop kept by a woman, a Friend whom he had known when a boy. He made himself known, and reminded her of the meeting held by Thomas Loe at his father's house. On her expressing surprise at his memory of the circumstances, he said he could never forget them, and that he would go a hundred miles to hear that Friend speak again. She told him he needn't go so far, for he was now in Cork, and was to have a meeting the next day. It was impossible that he could return to his farm (at Shanagarry) without seeing the man whom he considered as his greatest human benefactor, and still more without hearing his discourse. Accordingly he attended. The preacher began with the text, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." On this subject he enlarged in so impressive a manner that William was deeply affected and wept much."

year, it was he who caused the arrest of Wm. Penn, but there seems nothing to indicate any malice on this mayor's part in regard to his prisoner. At any rate, William Penn's imprisonment in Cork was nothing in comparison with what he endured after he returned to England, where for eight months and sixteen days he was kept a prisoner in the Tower of London, and one of his worst foes was the Bishop of London.

"Considering that his offence was not political—that no charge, writes Dixon, was preferred against him in a court of law—that he had not been put on his defence, and that he stood unconvicted of any crime, his confinement was monstrously severe. He was kept in a solitary dungeon, his family was not allowed to see him, nor was he permitted to see any other friend in prison save now and then his father. He was finally set at liberty without conditions, and this was done at the request of the Duke of York, afterwards James II."

"About the middle of September, 1669, William Penn quitted London, and visiting his friends and relatives at Bristol on the way, arrived at Shanagarry Castle at the end of the following month. From this time to the middle of the year 1670 he remained in Ireland, chiefly employed in attending to the affairs of the Shanagarry property. The very day of his arrival in Cork he went to the prison where those of his sect were confined, to talk with and console them. Next day he held a meeting in the prison, when he exhorted them to be steadfast in their opposition to the unjust exercise of power by the magistrates, and he refused to settle down to the business which had brought him over to Ireland until he had made a journey back to Dublin to attend a meeting of 'Friends,' where an account of the suffering to which Quakers had been exposed in various parts of the viceroyalty was drawn up and carried by him to his friend the Duke of Ormonde. He applied to all his old friends at the viceregal court, Sir George Lane, Lord Arran, and others, to engage them in his cause. His solicitations were renewed from time to time until he forced them to institute an enquiry into the alleged wrongs of the various persons cast into prison for conscience' sake, the result of which was that an Order in Council was passed in the month of June, 1670, for their release."

But the larger portion of his time during these eight months' residence in Ireland was devoted to the execution of the trusts confided to him by his father. A voluminous correspondence was kept up between Wanstead and Shanagarry Castle.

The unsettled state of the country made the Admiral desirous of selling his estate at Shanagarry; but a purchaser not being easy to find,

⁹ In a fragment of autobiography left by Penn, he wrote, "Within six weeks after my enlargement (from the Tower) I was sent by my father to settle his estate in Ireland, when I found those (i.e., the Quakers) of that kingdom under too general persecution, and those of the City of Cork almost all in prison, and the jail by that means became a meeting house and a workhouse, for they would not be idle anywhere. I was sorry to see so much sharpness from English to English, as well as Protestants to Protestants, when their interests were civilly and nationally the same, and their profession of religion fundamentally so, too." (Janney's "Life of Wm. Penn," Philadelphia, 1852.) Wight's "History of the Quakers in Ireland," it may be observed, throws but little light on William Penn's life while in the County Cork, although its author is described as Thomas Wight, of Cork.

he requested William to enquire if any of the tenants were disposed to purchase the lands they rented.

That anything of this sort actually occurred does not transpire; but as soon as he could arrange the great variety of affairs, personal and magisterial, which he had in hand, William Penn (to quote finally from Hepworth Dixon) quitted Ireland.

It was not until many years after, when he had returned from America for good, that William Penn again visited his County Cork estates for the last time, though it looks as if he spent some time in Ireland in 1681.

Clarkson's *Life of Penn* mentions that—"In 1681 William Penn, by the influence he had in Ireland, sent off this year two vessels from that quarter freighted with settlers for New Jersey; most of them were Quakers, a great part from Dublin, and the rest from other parts of the country where he has been best known."

He is said, in fact, to have on one occasion sailed direct from Cork to America, making Dundanion Castle his starting point, but none of the works relating to Penn seen by the present writer afford any information on this point. He must, however, have soon followed his Irish emigrant party, as he laid out the plan of Philadelphia in 1682.

A later visit of William Penn (seemingly his last to the County Cork, as recorded in his *Life* by Janney), took place in the spring of 1690, when he sailed from Bristol intending to visit his estates there, though the main object of his journey appears to have been to labour as a minister of the Gospel along with Thomas Story and John Everett. They arrived at Dublin on the 6th of May, and attended the half-yearly meeting there. From Dublin they went to Wexford, and thence to Lambstown. On their way to Waterford, when about to cross a river, their horses were seized by six dragoons acting under orders from their officers. This seizure was made under a tyrannical law of the Irish Parliament, which prohibited any Papist from keeping a horse above the value of five guineas, and directed that all should be regarded as Papists who declined to take the oaths prescribed. William Penn's horse and that of his son, with two others, being the most valuable, were seized, and had to be recovered by a replevin. On reaching Waterford he wrote to the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, complaining of the abuse, and they issued an order under which the officers were confined to their chambers for some weeks, until released by the intercession of Penn.

After attending a large and satisfactory meeting at Waterford, they went to the Barony of Imokilly, where lay a great part of William Penn's Irish estates, including the Castle of Shanagarry. Thence they proceeded to the Barony of Ibaune and Barryroe to view the rest of his estates in these parts.

At Cork and Bandon they had good meetings. Penn paid a friendly visit to the Bishop of Cork, to whom he presented his declaration called "Gospel Truths," on which the Bishop soon after published a severe criticism, which led to Penn's subsequent rejoinder, "A Defence of a Paper entitled 'Gospel Truths' against the Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony."

After attending meetings at Charleville, Limerick, Birr, Mountmellick, Edenderry, Lurgan, and Dublin, Penn and his colleagues came to Cashel. While John Vaughan was preaching at their meeting here, the Mayor and

Constable came by direction of the Bishop, and in the King's name commanded them to disperse; and when Thomas Story commenced preaching the Mayor attempted to pull him down, but could not reach him by reason of the crowd. At this juncture William Penn, who was in an adjoining apartment, sent for the Mayor, desired him to retire and let the Bishop know that he would see him in his own house, which the Mayor did accordingly. William Penn then went into the meeting, which was held to general satisfaction, and after it was ended he waited on the Bishop to expostulate with him for his unkind and illegal interference. The Bishop could not justify what he had done, and they parted in seeming friendship; but in order to justify his unlawful proceedings the Bishop wrote to the Lords Justices of Ireland, stating that Mr. Penn and the Quakers had gathered together in that place so many armed Papists and such a vast multitude of people, that it struck a terror into him and into the town; and not knowing what might be the consequence of such an appearance, he had sent the Mayor and the magistrates to disperse them. This letter was shown by the Earl of Galloway to William Penn when he afterwards visited Cork, which gave him an opportunity to relate the circumstance and set the Bishop's conduct in its true light.

Having been more than three months in Ireland, chiefly engaged in religious services, Penn and his companions embarked for England and returned to his residence in Bristol, "with thankful hearts to the Lord and Giver of all our mercies."

William Penn died in 1718, aged 74, and was interred in the Quaker burial ground at Jordan, near Beaconsfield. He left his estates in Ireland to his son by his first wife, William Penn, who married Mary Jones. He died of consumption in France, leaving a son,

William Penn, of Shanagarry, who married, first, Christiana Forbes, and, secondly, Anne Vaux (who became the third wife of Alexander Durdon, of Ballymagooley, and after of Shanagarry, and of Huntingdon Castle, Co. Carlow). By his first wife he had a daughter, and eventually heiress, viz., Christiana Gulielma Penn, who married Peter Gaskell, of Bath, and had issue—

(1) Thomas, (2) Peter Penn Gaskell. Of this Thomas Penn Gaskell there is an obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which says that he died October 19th, 1823, at his house in Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin, aged 61. "This gentleman was heir general of the celebrated legislator, William Penn, being through his mother sole representative of Springett Penn, only son of that distinguished character by his first wife, Gulielma Maria, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Herbert Springett, who fell in the royal cause at the siege of Banbury. His estate in the Co. Cork Mr. Gaskett inherited by lineal succession from his illustrious ancestor, Sir Wm. Penn, to whom it had been granted by the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, to whom he was allied through their common consanguinity with the ancient and renowned house of Hampden. The present (1823) house of Pennsylvania is descended from the founder's second marriage. After being engaged forty years in a suit in the Irish Court of Chancery, involving upwards of £20,000, Mr. Thomas Penn Gaskell obtained a decree to possess the estate granted to Admiral Penn (who captured the Island of Jamaica during the Commonwealth), from whom he was lineally descended. Mr. Penn Gaskell married in the year 1794 a daughter of the Dowager

Countess of Glandore, who lived but a few years. They had only one son, who died an infant. After so much affliction he retired from the world and led a very secluded life."

[The Shanagarry property was not that actually granted by Cromwell, but given in lieu of it, as above shown.]

To Thomas Penn Gaskell succeeded his brother, Peter Penn Gaskell, who by royal license, 1824, had assumed the prefix name, Penn, in compliance with his brother Thomas's testamentary injunction.

This Peter Penn Gaskell married in 1793 Elizabeth, daughter of Nathan Edwards, of Radnor, Delaware Co., Pennsylvania, and left issue four sons, William and Thomas, of Ballymaloe, Alexander and Peter, the three former of whom having died childless, the property at Shanagarry passed to Mr. Peter Penn Gaskell, born Oct. 24, 1843, who married July 6th, 1869, Mary Kathleen, daughter of Charles Edward Stubbs, of Sussex Square, Hyde Park, London, late of Lima, Peru.

The Penn-Gaskell property at Shanagarry is about to be sold to the tenantry by Mr. Peter Penn Gaskell this year, 1908, and thus will have finally ended its connection with the descendants of Admiral and William Penn.

APPENDIX.

Appended to the "Memorials of Admiral Penn" is an abstract of Sir William Penn's Answer to the Pretensions of Colonel Wallis. Of this abstract the following extract from it sufficiently indicates its nature:—"That Sir William Penn, upon the King's ordering the Earl of Clancarty to be immediately possessed of his ancient estate, did surrender the castle, town and manor of Macrump (Macroom), being a garrison wherein was constantly and conveniently quartered a foot company and troop of horse, with many thousand acres of land contiguous, and the castle, town and manor of Killcreagh (Kilcrea), with several lands thereunto belonging (the whole amounting to eight hundred and forty-eight pounds per annum, whereon were gardens and nurseries brought to great perfection, several woods of considerable value, markets and fairs, court-leet and court-baron, with the like dignities, and one year and a half rent in arrear), unto the same Earl of Clancarty. In consideration of which the King earnestly writes to the then Lord Justices for to hasten the said Sir W. Penn's reprice out of such forfeited lands as were in Imokilly, namely, Rostillon, Shanagarry, and Inchy, with the lands joining thereunto. Dated the 17th of October, 1660.

"In November, 1660, comes out the declaration confirming all such lands as were set out to Sir W. Penn (January, 1660-1) of the afore-named places, with lands adjoining. And that this order might have the better effect, they give another, dated the 7th of June, 1661, ratifying and confirming their former orders; and that by granting Sir W. Penn a custodium of the said lands which he accordingly had, commencing May, 1661.

"July 20th, 1661, comes an order from the said Commissioners of the Court of Claims, confirming this custodium.

"November 23rd, 1661, produces a supersidious order from the Lords Justices, for the continuing Sir W. Penn's right and possession.

"The first year's custodium drawing to an end, there was a new

custodium, upon the Lords Justices' order to the Lord Chief Baron, for three years, dated March 5th, 1661-62.

"All this time Colonel Wallis, pursuant to letters, orders and custodiums, turned tenant; so that being in possession by right of Sir W. Penn, and the land he urges his clause for being given out and confirmed to another, his title becomes void, such a possession also being unknown to the purpose of the Act.

"In 1662 came forth the Act of Settlement, which, on page 88, most largely expresses the King's intention to Sir W. Penn, giving to him a full reprice out of those lands as he has been put in possession of by his Majesty's letters, and that he then held as tenant to him, which in so many words overrules all other interests and pretensions; nor in that Act is there any clause repealing or coming in competition."

The remainder of this abstract is too technical and involved for reproduction here, but it includes a statement that the King had ordered that £1,000 a year, clear, was to be settled on Sir Wm. Penn, if not through the aforesaid lands, through others.

The Journal of the Memorials of the Dead Association, Ireland, vol. vi., No. 2, Part 1, page 237 (1905) gives the following inscription on a tombstone in Carrigtwohill Churchyard:—"This tombstone is erected by John Durdin in memory of his father, Michael Durdin, his wife and brothers; also John Durdin's wife and son, and for himself whensoever it shall please God to call him, aged 97. John Durdin died aged 96 years. Alexander Durdin died 20 September, 1807, aged 95 years."

Relative to this inscription the Rev. John Levingston, the Rector of Carrigtwohill wrote:—"John Durdin, who erected the tombstone, lived at Ballymagooley in this parish, and died in 1772, aged 96; his father had died, aged 97, in 1712 at Ballymagooley. John's wife was Anne, daughter of Alexander Cole, of Innishannon. Alexander Durdin, whose death is recorded in the second addition made to the inscription, was the son of John Durdin, and lived at Shanagarry Castle, the seat of the Penn family, acquired by him through his marriage with the widow of William Penn, grandson of the great William Penn, sole devisee of the family property, and the will of her son, Springett, and at Huntingdon Castle, Clonegal, Co. Carlow, where his descendants still reside."

Shanagarry Castle is not mentioned by Dr. Smith in his *History of Cork*. It is noted in Lewis's *Dictionary*, under Kilmahon, as having been unsuccessfully defended by the Earl of Desmond against Queen Elizabeth's troops; as held by the Irish in 1641; and captured by Cromwell, by whose orders it was dismantled. Mr. Brooke W. Brasier, of Shanagarry House, kindly states that according to local tradition the last owners of Shanagarry Castle before the Penns acquired it were the Powers, the head of which family was treacherously killed by one of the Fitzgeralds of Castlemartyr on returning from a visit to that castle. The original Penn mansion stood close to the road, and had a large courtyard in front. Being too large for the needs of the family, it was allowed to fall into ruin, and the present Shanagarry House built, portion of the old house being converted into stables, coachhouse, &c. Mr. Brooke W. Brasier also states that the sister of the last of the Powers is said to have held Shanagarry Castle till it was finally taken by Cromwell. The Powers were a once influential

family in this neighbourhood, after whom is named Poor Head, and the Poer Aisle in Cloyne Cathedral.

The following items relating to the Powers of Shanagarry are copied from the Egmont MSS., vol. i., published by the Historical MSS. Commission in 1905:—

1587-8, Feb. William Power, of Shanagarry, Co. Cork, charged Morrish Oge Fitz Morrish McGerrott, of Churchton, Thomas Gangaghe, of Carrickottie, and others with riotously resorting to the town of Loghen (? Cloyne), Co. Cork, and there beating and ill-treating the poor people at the ploughs, so that some of them, through terror, are never like to recover without danger of their lives. The defendants, however, were discharged by the Council at Dublin; it appears that they only resorted to Loghen in a lawful manner, and that the matter of the complaint was false and untrue.

1604, June 15. William Power, of Shangarrye, gent., was one of the jury empanelled to try Recorder Miagh of Cork for treason, which jury had failed to find him guilty, and were in consequence themselves found guilty by the Council of perjury, condemned to pay £500 a-piece, and to wear papers on their heads declaring their offence in the face of the four courts held at Drogheda and at the next General Sessions at Cork.

1606-7, April 24. Dermott McTeigue, Towhill O'Maly, and Teige O'Haurehan, of Ballymaccahell, Co. Cork, husbandmen, versus David Power, of Shangarry, in the same county, Philip and Patrick Hoare, and others. David Power to pay a fine of £20, and to be imprisoned during pleasure for riotously beating, battering, and wounding the complainants, and carrying off their cattle. The rest of the defendants, being the servants and tenants of Power and at his command, to be dismissed."

Ballymaloe House, one time the abode of Thomas Penn Gaskell, is one of the oldest residences in this part of the Co. Cork. It was built (as stated in Lewis's *Dictionary*) by the Fitzgeralds, who forfeited it in the year 1641. In Lewis's time it was occupied by a Mr. Forster, and in the hall were two pair of large elkhorns found on the estate in 1714.

In his interesting paper on the Castle of Cloyne in the *Journal* for Oct.-Dec., 1903, the Very Rev. Dean Fleming mentions that Sir John Fitz Edmond Fitzgerald, who was knighted by Lord Mountjoy in 1602, put up a carved stone, with his initials (and coat of arms), and the date 1602, in Ballymaloe House, which he had greatly enlarged at that time; and that he put up in the yard gate there another stone, with his initials and the year, in 1603. His son and successor, Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, and his son and successor, Sir John James Fitzgerald, likewise lived at Ballymaloe. There is also another stone in the yard at Ballymaloe, with the incised date, 1709. This has no initials, and may have been cut in the stone, in situ, adds Dean Fleming, when the place was occupied by the Orrery family, who, it is believed, got it on the expiration of the 66 years' lease made to Sir John Fitzgerald in 1639.

The Lord Orrery who resided at Ballymaloe was the first Earl of that name. He was son of the first Earl of Cork, and was better known as Lord Broghill. It was subsequently owned by the Croker family, as it was purchased from Colonel Croker by Mr. Hugh Lumley, who added some buildings to the original structure. This Hugh Lumley was probably a relation of the William Lumley who held Ballycrenan Castle in

1784. The Mr. Forster who held Ballymaloe in Lewis's time is buried in Kilcredan Churchyard.¹⁰

Mr. William Litchfield is the present (1908) occupier of Ballymaloe House.

¹⁰ Dr. Caulfield's "Annals of St. Coleman's Cathedral, Cloyne," Cork, 1882, furnishes the following items connected with Ballymaloe:—"Sir John, late of Ballymaloe, Co. Cork, Knt., eldest son and heir of Sir Edward F. G., Knt., eldest s. and h. of Sir John F. G., of Cloyne, Knt. Sir John married Ellen, third daughter of David Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant; issue, 5 sons and 2 daughters, viz., Edmond, eldest son and heir, James, Thomas, Garrett and John, all unmarried; Honora, eldest dau., and Ellen, unmarried. Sir John dep. at Ballymaloe, 2nd Jan., 1640, and was buried in the Cathedral of Cloyne in the monument of his ancestors. Subscribed by Thomas Skiddy, gent., agent for said Edmond, ret. 9 Aug., 1641." (Extract from "Irish Book of Funerals in College of Heralds, London.")

He also gives the Latin inscription over the grave in Cloyne Cathedral of Margaret Corker, the wife of Edward Corker, of Ballymaloe, and descendant of Peter Wallis, of Shanagarry, and of her two sisters, also buried there; and he further gives the Latin inscription over the grave of Hugh Lumley, of Ballimaloe, which states that he was an Englishman (the same, no doubt, who purchased Ballymaloe from Corker). Dr. Caulfield likewise mentions that John Le Poher held, in 1288, two carucates of land at Ballimaketh (now Ballymakeagh), on payment of a sparrow hawk yearly; and that David Poore, of Shanagarry, owner of the South Transept, commonly called the Poore Aisle, in Cloyne Cathedral, was one of the legatees of the above-named Sir John Fitzedmond Fitzgerald, of Ballymaloe. For the Corker Arms see Mr. Robert Day's paper in *Journal* for July, 1894.

J. C.

A History of the O'Mahony Septs of Kinelmeky and Ivagha.

(Continued from page 141.)

By REV. CANON O'MAHONY, GLENVILLE, CROOKSTOWN.

[ERRATUM.—In the footnote, p. 139, the sentence, "Any such manipulation of historical documents should be discountenanced, even in matters of great importance," "no" was omitted before the last two words.]

On the death of Conogher²⁷ in the Desmond war, his cousin-german, Donal, son of Cian, succeeded to the Chieftainship. In a State Paper, which shall be quoted later on, he is referred to as "the son of O'Mahown Carberie." Being the son of the Chieftain Finin's eldest brother (whose name is in the genealogy,²⁸ while Finin's is not), Donal might have expected to succeed his uncle, in 1579, in the ordinary course of Tanist Law, but as we have seen, his junior cousin was chosen in preference to him. His father Cian must have been the "O'Mahown Carberie," who married the daughter of Conor Fionn, Chief of Ivagha, after the death of her first

²⁷ It is a curious coincidence that the representatives of the Cinel Aodha and the Cinel Laeghere, the two branches of the once united tribe, the Ui Eachach Mumhan, both fell in this war, and that in the official list (1589) of persons "for High Treason attainted," are placed side by side the names of

"Conogher O'Mahony of Castlemahon,
Rory O'Donoghue (Mor) of Ross O'Donoghue."

²⁸ Geneal. MS. 23, G. 22., R. I. Acad.

husband, O'Driscoll, father of Sir Finen,²⁹ but it is possible that she was Cian's second wife, and that Donal was the son of a previous marriage. Donal O'Mahony is generally mentioned, in contemporary documents, with a sobriquet, spelled by English writers "Graney," which may have been derived from Grainne, possibly his mother's Christian name, but is probably, the English rendering of γράνδα, ill-favoured. If the latter be the explanation of the name, it affords an additional instance of the inveterate propensity of clansmen to bestow on their leaders unflattering epithets reflecting on their personal appearance, such as "the lame," "the bent," "the bald," and many others that we meet so frequently in the *Annals*.³⁰ As the Tanist, or presumed successor, of Conogher, Donal must, according to immemorial usage, have accompanied him to the Desmond war. He returned home the accepted Chieftain of a Sept that was confronted with the imminent danger of confiscation and extinction. An Inquisition held in Cork in 1584, and another held in Youghal in October, 1586, prepared the way for the confiscation of the whole tribeland, and in order to make such a confiscation accord with the forms of English law, the "Juratores" declared (on oath) that the late Chief "slain in rebellion was seized as of fee, of the country of Kinelmeky." This finding was not only untrue but notoriously untrue. Nothing was better known about the Irish land system than that the Sept-land was the common property of the Sept, and that the Chief's proprietary right³¹ was of a very limited character, and not at all comparable to English ownership in fee simple. But it would have been tedious, if not impossible, to investigate the cases of all the clansmen who were out in "rebellion," and so the "Juratores" got at them in globo by the summary process of declaring the Chieftain the owner in fee from whom all his followers held. One does not easily see the motive of putting this strain on the consciences of the members of the Youghal Inquisition, when Perrott's Parliament had six months previously voted the attainder of all, whether then living or slain, who participated in the recent war, to the number of one hundred and forty. A considerable number, however, of those who took part in the Insurrection were pardoned—a measure due rather to the policy or weakness than to the humanity of the Government. Amongst those were the White Knight, Patrick Condon, and several Fitzgeralds; the Lord Barry escaped confiscation with the imposition of a fine. The success of so many in obtaining a remission of the attainder, and of the forfeiture of their properties, encouraged Donal to hope for a similar remission. In a letter of Florence McCarthy's (*Life of Florence*, p. 106), it is stated that he went to England, to the Privy Council, "to sue for his lands of Kinelmeky." But he was doomed to disappointment; the Government would not readily forego the opportunity of extinguishing an Irish tribe, how-

²⁹ Harleian MSS. 1425, p. 25, Brit. Museum, as given in O'Donovan's *Corcalaidhe*, p. 401.

³⁰ Dr. O'Donovan mentions the singular fact that "Irish sobriquets were often given per antiphrasim" (use of a word in a sense opposite to its real meaning). Thus the most active of the O'Neill chiefs was called "Aedh the sluggish" (1230), and the epithet γράνδα was applied to persons of comely appearance. (Preface to O'Dugan and O'Heerin.)

³¹ In some clans the Chief exercised the right of occasional redistribution of portions of the territory. But this fell far short of the right of an English feudal proprietor.

ever indulgently they might treat Anglo-Irish rebels. He kept up the claim during 1587, as we learn from the document among the State Papers headed, "Land in Munster allotted to undertakers, claimed by the Irish." In this document we find among other entries:—"Claimed by Mac Carthy Reagh and by one of the O'Mahownies of Kinelmeky, Kinelmeky the country of Conogher O'Mahony containing two seignories and a half."

Some observations must now be made on the novel claim of Owen McCarthy Reagh, mentioned in the foregoing document. No such pretensions had been put forward by any of his predecessors, or appear in their "Inquisitions." The Barry Oges, indeed, the lords of Kinelea, had been (as we have already seen) for centuries alleging a claim to Kinelmeky, as being Kinelea (Ultra)—a claim derived from the grantees of Henry II., authorised by that monarch to plunder Irish tribelands of the "Kingdom of Cork"—if they could. The Clan of the O'Mahons had ignored Barry Oge's parchment title, and successfully resisted his aggression. But if any Irish or Anglo-Irish Chief, especially a loyalist such as McCarthy Reagh, invaded Kinelmeky in order to acquire an over lordship, the Barry Oges would undoubtedly have made loud and reiterated complaints to the English Government³² about the aggression that would tend to deprive them of all chance of ever obtaining the coveted territory. There are no such complaints in the State Papers, because there was no such aggression. In 1562 they complained of the encroachments of the Earl of Desmond on Kinelea, others made similar complaints, and the Earl was forthwith obliged to give security that he would no longer molest the "Lord Great Barry, Little Barry (Barry Oge), Lord Roche, Mac Carthy Reagh, &c."

To maintain that a Clan which had lost its Chief in battle, either against native or English forces, thereby forfeited its right to choose his successor, and that its right to the soil lapsed to an extern Chieftain, who may have received its "Chieffries" or head rents, would be to make an assertion utterly at variance with Irish law, and repugnant to Irish sentiment. But the English Government was not indisposed to act on such a principle, in response to the petition of a loyalist, who could show that he had been the recognised "overlord" of a territory in such circumstances. Thus, the claim of Mac Carthy Mor to the lands of the patriot Chief, O'Donoghue Mor, slain in the "Rebellion," had been fully conceded in 1584. A like concession would have been made to Mac Carthy Reagh if he could show that he possessed over Kinelmeky³³ an authority similar to that which Mac Carthy Mor indisputably had over the territory of Loch Lene. As a

³² Mr. Gillman (Cork Hist. and Arch. "Journal," 1897, art. on the Castle of Dundanier) shows that "the Barry Oge was a persona grata to the English Government from the time of Henry VIII. to the Desmond Rebellion." He might have said the same of every Barry Oge since 1237, when Philip an Airgid was pardoned for a revolt on payment of a fine. The story told in the "Letter of the Citizens of Cork," in 1449, of Barry Oge's forfeiture at that period, is disproved by the researches of a special Commission in 1588, which failed to find the slightest evidence of the alleged forfeiture, and had to fall back on another device to extinguish his title to his lands. The Barry Oge of 1583 compromised in the Rebellion, did not trouble himself about renewing his "claim" to Kinelmeky, having quite enough to do to try and retain Kinelea.

³³ In the "surrender and regrant" of O'Donovan's lands in 1610, there is a saving clause "saving to Donnell McC. Reagh any chief rents, etc., payable to any of his ancestors." (From a Patent Roll of James I., quoted by Dr. O'Donovan, "Annals Four Masters," p. 2443.)

loyalist, he had a better record than even Mac Carthy Mor. Of the native chiefs "few indeed," writes Mr. Mac Carthy Glas, "stood by the Government in the Desmond struggle. . . . Cormac Mac Carthy of Muskerry and Donogh Mac Carthy Reagh brought the whole force of their countries to assist the Government in its hour of need. In the long and gloomy struggle these men were found faithful." (*Life of Florence McCarthy*, p. 9.) Owen Mac Carthy Reagh had continued the policy of his brother, and supplied the English troops with provisions during the war. Whatever sentiments might be entertained with regard to him by local "undertakers" and their friends, the heads of the Irish Government had no prejudice against such a devoted supporter. But he failed to present to them even the semblance of a case. His claim was that "the O'Mahons held from him," because Kinelmeky "was parcell of Carbery," and he was "Lord of Carbery." We learn the contents of his first petition, presented in 1587, from the two questions proposed by Walsingham to Justice Jessua Smythe. Smythe's reply, too verbose to be quoted in extenso, is dated "Kinsale, April 14, 1588":—"And for Kinelmeky, whereof your honour would be informed, first, whether the barony or cantred be part of Carbery or distinct and several in itself . . . I have conferred with sundry of the best knowledge and credit, and I find that Kinelmeky is, and hath been since Henry II., a barony by itself, never parcel of Carbery, but some time of the territories of Barry Oge, an English Sept, and called by the English, Kinelea Ultra. For the second question, as to whether the O'Mahowne of Kinemleky be tenant at will to the Carthys of Carbery, that is a matter never heard of before, but a feigned plea devised when these causes were at hearing, to delude the Commissioners. But the contrary is well known, that the O'Mahowne is as ancient in Kinelmeky as Mac Carthy Reagh in Carbery . . . chosen by the like ceremony of Irish Captainry, by the country of Kinelmeky, according to the custom and right of the Sept, and never heard of to be either appointed or displaced by any Carthy."

One of those men "of good credit" with whom Smythe conferred was William Lyon, Protestant Bishop of Cork and Ross, whose letter he forwarded to Walsingham. Bishop Lyon writes as follows:—"Being of late requested by you to deliver my knowledge touching Kinelmeky, whether it be in Kinelea or Carbery, and whether the O'Mahownes have held it of the Carties . . . My rolls of the Bishopric of Cork, which are accounted to be as authentic as they are ancient, plainly say that the Churches in Kinelmeky are in the Deanery of Kinelea Ultra, and for proof that it is in Kinelea Ultra the lord of Kinelea (Barry Oge), another deanery, doth make challenge to Kinelmeky as in Kinelea Ultra. And as to your other question, since my coming unto these parts I have often heard from persons of the best of credit that the O'Mahownes have never held of the Carties, but that they are ancient gentlemen of themselves and ancients than the Mac Carties . . . it was never heard otherwise in the country but that the O'Mahownes held by inheritance successively, so that the Carties could not displace them." He concludes by expressing his belief that "the O'Mahownes now living will not confess themselves to be tenants of Mac Carthy." (Letter to Jessua Smythe, April 5th, 1588.)

This testimony, with other evidence contained in documents which he

calls "offices," were sent by Smythe to Walsingham, and were brought before "Lord Anderson and the other Commissioners then at Cork" in September, 1588, and decision was given against Mac Carthy Reagh's pretensions. It may be said that Smythe and Bishop Lyon were hostile witnesses, and desirous of seeing Kinelmeky occupied by an English colony. But the accuracy of Bishop Lyon's statement as to the superior antiquity of the Clan of The O'Mahons (proved in the first part of this history) shows that he consulted competent antiquaries, and creates a presumption that his other assertions are also the result of careful inquiry. When he and Jessua Smythe denied that the appointment of the O'Mahon was made by Mac Carthy, they knew they were making a statement which could be very easily refuted (to their great discredit) if it were not true. The late Chieftain, Conogher, was inaugurated in 1579.³⁴ The inauguration of a Chieftain was a public and impressive event that was witnessed by thousands. Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare has given a graphic account of the details of the ceremonial. (*Hist. Cath. Hiberniae*, Lib. iii., Cap. iv.)

Owen Mac Carthy Reagh did not acquiesce in the decision given in Cork. He returned to the charge next year. His second petition was presented in August, 1589. It is preserved among the State Papers, and is a weak and confused document. In the commencement of it he quotes a sentence of Bishop Lyon's, without mentioning his name, and Justice Smythe's reference to the election of O'Mahon by Tanistry "as the Carties are in Carbery," and thus shows that he had read the case presented against him. Nevertheless he does not attempt to refute the express statement that he had nothing to do with the appointment, that is to say, the inauguration of the O'Mahon Chiefs. Neither does he state that he received an annual tribute, specifying the amount.³⁵ In other words, he was unable to prove the two points that were essential for establishing the existence of an "overlordship." If he actually enjoyed the right which he claimed, those points could be proved by the testimony of witnesses then living. But he has no such testimony to produce. He is driven to the necessity of again repeating (from his former petition) that "Kinelmeky is parcell of Carbery," but he has nothing at all to say against the historical evidence which had been produced to show that the old tribe-name Kinelea comprehended Kinelmeky before the time of the formation of the Deaneries, Kinelea Ultra and Kinelea Citra, which took place early in the Norman period. He had to meet the allegation of Bishop Lyon that "the O'Mahons now living will not confess themselves to have been his tenants," and he practically confirms the allegation by not contradicting it. But his main reliance is not on legal or historical proofs, but on the claim he had on the Government as a loyal subject, and he concludes his petition by dwelling on the extent of his services at a critical time. "It

³⁴ It took place, doubtless, in Rath Rathleann, as being the most ancient and historic place connected with the history of the Sept.

³⁵ Jessua Smythe, in his letter to Walsingham, thinks that there may have been an "extorted chieffry," i.e., one seized from time to time by force. An instance of such a seizure by Mac Carthy Reagh in the lands of a minor Sept of the MacCarthys is given in the "Life of Florence MacCarthy," p. 5, by Mr. MacCarthy Glas. Jessua Smythe's supposition is not borne out in the above petition; no "chieffry" is specifically mentioned at all. An "extorted" one would, if taken, be represented by Mac Carthy Reagh as due by hereditary right.

may please your honourable Lordships respecting your suppliant's loyalty, and regarding his good service during the Rebellion, not to give credit to those that covet this land, but to grant him a favourable despatch of his petition, so that he may not be driven to remain here at greater cost than he can maintain." He had advanced³⁶ nothing new, and had not refuted the case made against his claim, and so "their Lordships" refused to alter the decision already arrived at. It is significant that Mr. McCarthy (Glas), who, from his extensive knowledge of the State Papers of the time, gives a very full account of Owen McCarthy Reagh's Chieftainship, and had occasion to quote a letter of Popham's, incidentally mentioning the rejection of the above petition, withholds the petition itself from publication, and carefully avoids saying one word in its defence.³⁷ The ignoble and unwarrantable claim was calculated—at least in 1587-1588—to embarrass the real proprietors of Kinelmeky and interfere with their last chance of obtaining restitution of their land.

The Commission held in Cork not only rejected the claim above stated and discussed, but also re-affirmed the finding of the two Inquisitions—"that Conogher O'Mahony was seized as of fee of the country of Kinelmeky." On the attainder of Conogher, and on that alone, was based the English Queen's title to dispose of the territory to two undertakers, Phane Beecher and Hugh Worth. Soon after the conclusion of the legal investigations above mentioned, the patents were signed on September 30th, and possession was taken of the confiscated land. The undertakers did not anticipate the trouble that was in store for them. The expropriated Chief and his people did not tamely acquiesce in the arrangements made for their extinction. Donal commenced at once a guerilla warfare, which ended only with his death in 1894." Twelve months subsequently Richard Harrison, "Attorney unto Phane Beecher," writes a doleful account of the undertakers:—"And then presently after came on Daniel Graney O'Mahon, with divers other malefactors, entered into Castle O'Mahon and burned the said Castle, and thence did take and spoil the goods therein belonging to the said Phane Beecher and others, and so continued in the country . . . whereupon those people that were ready to come from England, on hearing the report hereof, did stay from coming over then . . . there be six persons left by Mr. Beecher, besides those lately sent, at Castle Mahon . . . those Irish tenants that be upon the said seignory are such as he found there dwelling, and to avoid further trouble thought good not to displace them. Phane Beecher will return next March (1590). The whole nation of O'Mahons is to be suspected, for they do pretend title (i.e., maintain) and are brothers and cousins of the traitor, Daniel Graney O'Mahon." (State Papers, Ireland, vol. 146, in London Record Office.)

The burning of Castle Mahon, that is to say of everything combustible found in it, alarmed the undertakers of South Munster. Valentine Brown

³⁶ The claim put forward in his first petition he modifies as follows:—"Finin O'Mahowney (the Chief who preceded Conogher) did hold Kinelmeky of me—all but three ploughlands, which he demised to his sons." Three ploughlands, and only three, held independently of him. This contradictory and confused statement would seem to justify Lord Burleigh's description of Owen Mac Carthy Reagh as "a simple man." It seems to convey a hint to the Lords Commissioners that he would raise no objection to the confiscation of the three ploughlands occupied by Finin's sons.

³⁷ "Life of Florence McCarthy," pp. 11-100.

wrote from Kerry to the Privy Council:—"Donal Graney has burned O'Mahowne's Castle." Sir Thomas Norreys wrote to Lord Deputy and Council, mentioning, with three³⁸ other dangerous men, "O'Mahown Carbery's son, Donal Grainne, who doth greatly repine at the settling of undertakers in Kinelmeky, sometime his father's land." Unreasonable man Donal! David Barry, Lord Buttevant, wrote of Donal's "Rebellions in Kinelmeky," and insinuates that his (Lord Barry's) old enemy, Florence Mac Carthy, was a secret supporter of Donal's, and had made him a present of a sword as a token of sympathy. The bitterest of the letters of complaint was that of Justice Jessua Smythe (then residing in Kinsale) to Lord Burghley. It is curious to observe how he manages to conceal that the person whose action he reports was the Chief of Kinelmeky, and the occupier of the Castle from the beginning of 1583 to the attainder of his cousin in 1586. It is hard to conjecture his motive; could he have feared that Burghley might have some sympathy for the dispossessed proprietor? The penniless lawyer who had come over to Ireland to make a living in the midst of hardship and danger seeks to disparage as "a poor man now of mean estate" the long-descended head of an ancient Sept:—"One Donal Graney O'Mahown of late in England, of mean estate, but of great power to do hurt, went first out and stood on his keeping. When nothing was attempted against him, entered in and brake and burned a Castle called Castle O'Mahown in Kinelmeky forfeited to Her Majesty. There is daily adhering to him, providing of weapons (sic) to do all the murders they may. He walketh by night and often by day in Carbery at his pleasure. Nothing is done against him during the Governor's absence, but a faint pursuit by a few Carbery kerne men of his own feather. It is reported that a like company hath burned Dunbeacon Castle." The writer then goes on to recommend that vigorous action be taken against Donal, and that, for this purpose, "one Captain Bostock, who resideth at the boundary of Kinelmeky, be supplied with a sufficient number of kernes." The letter exhibits the weakness of the English Government, which could not provide English soldiers to protect the undertakers, but had to depend on hiring some stray "kernes," who, naturally, had not their hearts in the work for which they were engaged. This Captain Bostock, a few years after, was suspected of treasonable communications with Capt. Jacques dei Franceschi (so often mentioned in the State Papers), and Lord Burghley, acting on information received from his own spies in Munster, wrote to Carew (June, 1601) ordering him to seize and search Bostock's papers on any plausible pretext, or "rather than it be not done, quacunque via." Carew replied:—"Touching Bostock . . . I have searched his coffers and found nothing; the pretext I made was for certain commissions granted to him and others about the title of O'Mahon's lands, whereof he had a portion, which for her Majesty's special service was required." So it appears that Beecher and Worthe had to pay Bostock for protection by surrendering to him some of the confiscated land allotted to them. They appear to have enjoyed a temporary respite during a part, at all events, of the year 1590, in which year

³⁸ The other men "to be doubted" were Donal, base son of the Earl of Clancar, and the Lord Roche. Donal figures frequently in the State Papers as the Robin Hood of Munster, and was a thorn in the side of Valentine Brown, who therefore—*Haud ignarus mali*—had a fellow feeling for Phane Beecher.

Robert Payne, agent "of XXV. undertakers," wrote his "Brief Account of the State of Ireland,"³⁹ in which he says:—"There is one Mr. Phane Becher, who hath a great part of a proper country called Kinelmeky, about three miles from Timoleague and six from Kinsale. Through it runneth a goodly river called Bandon, wherein is a great store of fish of sundry kinds, salmon, trouts, &c. In his country is (sic) great woods, the trees of wonderful height, showing the fertility of the soil." But Lord Barry of Buttevant's mention of Donal's "Rebellions" in Kinelmeky (letter to Burghley, 1593) implies that, after intervals of peace, inroads were again and again made on the new-comers. Thus, harassing and harassed, the despoiled Chief spent the remainder of his life. His clansmen were to a great extent saved from being displaced, for only a few English colonists ventured to come into such a dangerous territory.⁴⁰

A peculiarly authenticated tradition states that an offer was made to Donal that he might retain half of his Septland, on agreeing to a pacific surrender of the remainder, and that he was asked the question: "Which side of the Bandon River would you prefer?" The refusal of the uncompromising Donal was expressed in an old proverbial saying, used when one declined to make a choice between two good things, but preferred to have both. The memory of the incident was preserved by the habitual association of his name, henceforward, with that proverbial saying, in Carbery and Muskerry, as long as the Irish language continued in ordinary use:—"1 tceannta a céile ir fearr iad, mar aoubairt O Matḡairna leir an fear gailḡa." "It is better have both," as O'Mahouna said to the foreigner." In one of the State Papers of 1587, p. 385, we find what should, in all probability, be regarded as a confirmation of this account. Under the heading of "Land allotted to undertakers in Munster, claimed by the Irish" is mentioned "Kinelmeky claimed by one of the O'Mahons" (Donal as we have already seen). Next follows an imperfect sentence:—"An offer was made . . . (then a blank). It is pretty safe to conclude that the "offer made," but for some private or political reason not fully stated, was the same offer above mentioned which tradition has preserved.

About the end of 1593, or the beginning of 1594, death brought to a close the troubled career of Donal Grainne O'Mahony, who may be regarded in some respects as an Irish prototype of Scott's idealised "Master of Ravenswood." In 1594, a letter of Lord Barry of Buttevant refers to "Donal Grainne lately in action." The word "killed" is, in all probability, omitted after "lately." Less disputable evidence of his death is afforded by the mention made of his successor in 1594.

The Chieftainship of the doomed Clan reverted to the family of Finin, and his son, Dermod (a younger brother of the slain Conogher) was appointed to succeed Donal.⁴¹ We have seen in a previous page a reference

³⁹ Payne's work is a very small pamphlet. It gives some curious details. Throughout Munster "there is plenty of Iron Stone, which a smith here will, in his forge, make iron presently." "Swine will feed very fat in the woods (on mast and acorn) without any food given them by hand." He adds that "they will be fatted within two years."

⁴⁰ See quotation from Richard Harrison in a previous page.

⁴¹ In the year of Dermot's appointment, a scion of his house, a youthful member of the Jesuit Order, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, a victim of the persecuting laws of the times. He had just returned from Rome, and probably intended to pass through England into his native country. In the list, preserved by the Order, of those who suffered with him on that occasion, he is called "John Cornelius." O'Sullivan Beare



THE "CASTLE O'MAHOWNE" OF THE STATE PAPERS
OF A.D. 1576-1588.

(The adjoining modern mansion is shaded out.)

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in the *Fiants* to Finin "called O'Mahowne Carberie, of Castle O'Mahowne, and Dermod O'Mahowne of the same place." The year 1594 was remarkable for the number of suits brought before the Dublin Privy Council for the restitution of lands usurped or sequestered. A State Paper has the following heading:—"Docquet of Irish suitors, Ormonde, Dunsany, D. O'Connor Sligo, Dermod O'Mahowne, alias O'Mahowne Carberie," and a number of others. By the example of many, known to be seeking for restoration of lands, Dermod was induced to desist, for a time, from his predecessor's policy of despair, and to raise once again before the Dublin Privy Council an objection to the assumption on which was based the confiscation of Kinelmecky—the assumption that the deceased Conogher held in fee simple the whole barony, that all its other occupiers held from him, and that all were involved in his forfeiture. In 1595 Florence McCarthy Reagh, who had a long experience of litigation about lands, offered to act as agent for the Chief of Kinelmecky, who was his cousin-german. Florence was himself interested, as Tanist of Carbery, in obtaining a recognition of the fact that Irish Customary Law did not invest a Chief with the proprietary rights of a feudal owner. If Donal McCarthy Reagh had a feudal tenure of Carbery, it was all over with Florence's chance of becoming his successor. In the very year and month (April, 1595) in which he commenced to act for Dermod O'Mahon, he had argued in a letter to Burghley that to treat Donal (na Pypy) McC. Reagh as having been heir to his country, in the English sense, "because the eldest brother's heir" would "mean to disinherit a whole Sept, being a thing that was never done in Ireland hitherto," and he points out that "Law doth allow custom as well in England as in Ireland," having perhaps specially before his mind the "Custom of Kent" and "Borough English." Florence considered himself entitled to say that no Sept had been disinherited through the recognition of a feudal title in its Chief, because the case of Kinelmecky was then "sub judice." In April, 1595, the members of the Privy Council, affecting to have received information which was new to them, to the effect that Conogher O'Mahon was not seized as of fee of the castle and lands, &c., ordered, or (shall we say?) went through the form of ordering, that a new Inquisition be held on the subject. Had the order been carried out, and those interested allowed to attend the Inquisition (the Inquisitions of 1584 and 1586 had been held behind their backs), overwhelming evidence could have been given, by representative men of every Munster Sept, that the tenure of a Chieftain had been utterly misrepresented. But no action was taken on the letter of the Privy Council within the following twelve months, doubtless with their connivance, and in 1596 the Council wrote again⁴² to countermand their

(Hist. Cath. Comp.) gives the following account of him:—"Pater Joannes O'Mahunus, alias Cornelius, sacerdos e sacra religione Societatis Jesu, in Kenalmeca, populo Iberniae, natus nobilibus parentibus et illustri familia O'Mahunorum, qui, juvenis in Angliam cum parentibus proficiscitur, indeque, Romam, religionemque professus, et sacris ordinibus initiatus in Angliam reversus, propter fidem Catholicam suspensus secatur, anno 1594."

⁴² The document is interesting as throwing light on the administration of justice in those times, and is here given in extenso from the Acts of the Privy Council, p. 475:—"A letter to Sir Thomas Norris, knight, and the Counsell of the Province of Mounster there. Since the tyme that uppon an office founde for her Majestie uppon the attainer of Conor O'Mahon, the Castle of O'Mahon and the landes of Kilnalmaka in the countie of Corke were seysed to her Majestys use (which was doone now a good manie years past) we

order. It was alleged, they say, by the undertakers that "a new inquiry may prove injurious to Her Majesty." This was all the undertakers had to say against the case presented, but their extra-legal point appears to have struck the Privy Council "all of a heap." The Council knew right well what a real Inquisition would establish. At the end of the fourth century of English occupation they could not be ignorant of anything so notorious as the nature of a Chieftain's tenure. The right to other people's lands alleged to have "lapsed to Her Majesty" was in jeopardy. So they turn for counsel to the two English Chief Justices, and these worthies oblige them by giving the courtly opinion that a "decision already given for the Queen ought not to be disturbed by a new Inquisition, and that the claimant could proceed by petition." This advice to the claimant to petition against the undertakers' patents was, of course, a mere mockery.

One might narrate without comment the seizure and confiscation, by undisguised physical force, of a tribeland whose leading men had, in defence of civil and religious liberty, joined in the late war against England. But the pretence of proceeding to confiscation under the forms of ordinary law—by the application of a law manifestly inapplicable to the case in question—must be characterised as a contemptible and hypocritical proceeding, to which such a judicial decision as the above was a suitable conclusion.

Dermod, after this experience of English law, reverted to the tactics of his predecessor. Naturally enough, perhaps, under the circumstances—for even Sir W. Herbert, a few years previously, had expressed his surprise

have bin earnestlie sollicitid by contrarie petitions and complaintes concerninge the said castle and landes, for albeit that office then found uppon good and diligent inquisition on her Majesty's behalfe was approved and ratified by the now Lord Cheefe Justice of Englande, then her Majesty's Attorney Generall, the Lord Cheefe Justice of the Common Pleas, Mr. Baron Gent and Mr. Sergeant Heale and divers others learned in the lawes, nevertheless as at other tymes afterwarde there was some controversie mooved by the pretended clayme of Dermod O'Mahon, and more latelie in the moneth of Aprill the last year 1595, uppon the sollicitacion of one Florenc Mac charta as an agent for Dermod O'Mahon, and uppon his informacion that Conor O'Mahon was never seised as of fee of that castle and goodes (sic), and the afforsaid office was undulie founde, letters were procured and obtayned from us to you, the Vice-President of Mounster, for a newe examinacion and inquisition to be made by an inquest of a sufficient number of the inhabitantes thereabouts concerninge the rightfull interest of that castle and landes. So now againe on the contrarie parte one Henrie Beecher, sonne of Phane Beecher (who together with one Hugh Worth undertooke the said lands by patent from her Majestie), hath latelie made petition unto us, and complained that if the said new tryall by inquest do proceed it maie proove injurious notonlie to himselfe, the patentee, but also unto her Majestie. In this contrarietie of petitions and complaintes we have thought it the best course for the satisfaction of our myndes and performance of justice unto all parties to require the judgment of our verie good Lord, the Lord Chiefe Justice of England and the Lord Chiefe Justice of the Common Pleas, and thereon to relie for our certain resolution. Whose judgment forasmuch as we finde to be such as that of the office founde at the first by inquisition uppon the attainder of Conor O'Mahon for the Queene ought not to be drawn in question againe by anie new inquisition, but onlie by waie of petition, we have thought meete to preffer the judgment of the said Lords Cheefe Justices before our owne opinions, and therefore do now write theis our letters to make staie of anie new inquisition that maie be undertaken by vertue of our afforesaid letters in April, 1595, and do withall require you that if anie thinge be alreadie doone to the disadvantage or dispossessione of the said Henrie Beecher of anie parte or parcell of said landes or of his goods by vertue of our former letters, but you cause him or such persons as make clayme for him to be restored into his entire possession and state that he had in those landes before you received our former letters, leaving Dermod O'Mahon or such persons as do followe the suite for him to seeke the right that he or they pretend by such other means as are usuall and lawfull.

that Munster was not more disturbed in consequence of the planting of the undertakers. Among the State Papers bearing the date 1599 is a fragment of a MS. History of the preceding years, in which we read:—"Mac Donogh, rebel in Duhallow, Dermot O'Mahon, rebel in Carbery."

(To be continued).

The Mitchelstown Caves.—Desmond's Cave.



PARTY of Speleologists, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Southport, Lancashire, visited Mitchelstown early in September for the purpose of surveying the celebrated caves. What are known as the "New Caves" were discovered in 1833, and were described at the time by Professor Apjohn, of Trinity College, Dublin. In 1892 a French Speleologist, M. Martel, visited them, and though his exploration lasted only six hours, he made a wonderful survey of them, considering the shortness of the time occupied. The recent explorers have spent not six hours but six days in the same work, and naturally with more abundant and accurate results. As I have already written about these caves in the *Journal*, so long ago as 1893 and 1894, I do not now repeat anything I then said, my chief object in this note being to give some account of Desmond's Cave, which I had never entered until the visit of these English explorers. This cave is situated, roughly speaking, about five hundred yards to the west of the "New Caves," and has practically been unvisited since their discovery in 1833. It used to be called "The Grey Sheep's Cave," but when the "Sugan" Earl of Desmond was captured there in 1601 by the White Knight (for particulars of which incident see my paper on the White Knight in the May Number of the *Journal* for 1893), the name of the cave was changed to "Desmond's," and has remained so ever since. Mr. Harold Brodrick, the leader of the recent exploring party, says it is the finest cave he himself has ever seen, and that it is quite "the finest cave in the British Islands." It is very difficult of access; there is a sheer descent of twenty-seven feet over the face of a rock into it. Two immense cliffs are divided by a narrow chasm or cleavage, not much wider at the top than to admit the passage of a man's body. Through this you descend and ascend. It was a somewhat exciting experience going down and up the rope ladder, as it swayed a good deal when you cleared the face of the rock, but then everyone was further roped for safety's sake round the chest, the rope being held by two men above.

Desmond's Cave, unlike the New Caves, is not either a regular or irregular system of chambers; so far as I know it contains only two; but these two are simply magnificent, with very lofty roofs and spacious areas. The stalactites which remain—for there are evident signs of the removal and destruction of many—are each as large as a man's body. Everything in the Desmond Cave is on a far larger scale than in the New Caves. The

roofs are more lofty; the chamber areas more extensive and spacious; the stalactites much longer.

My chief object, however, in writing this note is to record some inscriptions which I copied—only a few out of a large number, but still they will serve as specimens and samples. I give them in chronological order. Date 1610—no name. If this date were 1601, one could understand its occurrence more easily, as that was the year in which the White Knight captured the "Sugan" Earl in the cave. But why 1610? Well, I can offer no suggestion or solution. The figures are of an archaic form, and appear to have been scratched with a knife, as indeed all the inscriptions appear to have been :—

Date 1705—Name illegible.

1720—Felix and Anna Magrath.

1734—Derby London.

1775—Gibbon, Castle Grace.

1775—B. Hunt.

1798—Dawson.

1800—Dinah Wilson, E. T. Smith.

1818—James Grubb, W. Ffennell, B. Whitton.

1819—W. Phelps.

1824—Michael Miller.

I did not come across any date between 1610 and 1705, but such intermediate dates may occur in other walls of the cave than the one from which I copied. The dates in the 18th century are fairly numerous, and in the 19th they appear to have ceased with the discovery of the New Caves in 1833. "Castle Grace" is the name of a residence near Clogheen, and the names Grubb and Ffennell connected with the visit in 1818 are or were well-known names in Clogheen. The name Dawson, 1798, is still a well-known name in the district.

This Desmond Cave is, indeed, very difficult of access, but considering that it is "the finest cave" Mr. Brodrick, the leader of the exploring party, had ever seen, and in his opinion "the finest cave in the British Islands," it is, to my mind, a lamentable thing that it is not exploited. Surely "there is money in it" in a tourist sense. Here you have near Mitchelstown "the finest cave in the British Islands," and yet you have no means of getting into it. Would it not as a business investment be well worth the while of Mitchelstown hotel-keepers to spend £10, or even £20, in providing an iron ladder for the purpose, and to advertise this great attraction in the tourist season. Therefore from a utilitarian, as well as from an antiquarian point of view, I desire to call attention to this matter in the hospitable columns of the *Journal*. Archæological researches sometimes turn out to have a considerable commercial value, and I believe it would be so in this case, if the matter were properly handled. The exploring party will publish a report of their survey of the New Caves in due time. They intend to return to the district next spring, and then make a thorough survey of the Desmond Cave also. A great debt of gratitude is due to these English strangers for exploring and exploiting the great national wonders of a district about which its own residents are so careless and incurious. It is not every day and every where that you can see "the finest cave in the British Islands."

COURTENAY MOORE, M.A., V.P.R.S.A.I.

Proceedings of the Society.

At the first Winter Meeting of the Society, held at the Cork Library, Pembroke Street, on Friday evening, November 6th, there were present—Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., J.P., President; Very Rev. J. A. Dwyer, O.P.; Messrs. J. P. Dalton, C. Cremen, J. Butler, E. Casey, J. Fryer, J. Justice, J. Kelleher, J. Noonan, J. O'Neill, J. O'Shea, H. Sheehan, Thomas Farrington, J.P., Hon. Treasurer, and J. Coleman, Hon. Sec., etc.

The Hon. Secretary made a brief statement as to the position and prospects of the Society, in which he mentioned that whilst contributions to the Society's "Journal" are markedly on the increase, the number of members is not equal to what it was when the "Journal" was a monthly publication, and he urged those present to endeavour to induce their friends to become members, so as to fill up the vacancies caused by deaths, the Society having lately lost in this way several members, who were also valuable contributors, including the Very Rev. Canon Lyons, Rev. P. Hurley, Mr. Randal Mac-Fineen McCarthy; whilst as a proof of the continued interest taken in the Society by non-residents, he pointed out that Mr. T. J. Westropp, one of the foremost archaeologists in Ireland, had recently spent two days at Kilcrea Abbey in order to write a paper on that fine ruin, which will be accompanied by numerous photo views taken by him, and that Mrs. D. Townshend, Oxford, had kindly undertaken some of the indexing of the "Journal."

The Hon. Treasurer next read his financial report, which showed a deficit for the past year of 9s. 5d., due to some subscriptions being still unpaid, but leaving a balance in bank to the Society's credit of nearly £80.

The officers, etc., having been unanimously re-elected,

Mr. C. Cremen read a very able and interesting paper on the early antiquities in the neighbourhood of Donoughmore, including ogham stones, raths, lisses, stone circles, dallans, etc., several of which were not hitherto known or described. Great interest was excited by the photo which he showed of an ancient carved human head found at a considerable depth below the soil—a most unique discovery—and the hope was expressed that it would be safely housed in the Museum at the Shrubbery House. Mr. Cremen wound up his valuable paper by a protest taken from a Gaelic League source against the wholesale destruction of our ancient monuments now taking place, and stated that he was informed that one of the most historic castles in our county, within a few miles of Cork, had recently been pulled down in order to build labourers' cottages with its materials.

The President having expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Cremen for his interesting and informing paper, then read the following papers, after which he kindly exhibited the antiquarian objects described below:—

KILLEEN-MEEN-RUIG.—On the 14th August, 1908, I had the privilege of visiting, with Lady Carbery, the ruined foundations of Killeenmeenruig Church, and its now disused and forgotten burial place. The outline of the walls are from one to four feet in height of uncemented masonry, and are all that remain of the original building, which is cruciform, with a distinctly marked chancel. On a previous visit Lady Carbery found an oblong stone 20 inches long x 13 inches wide, and 10 inches deep, having a socket-like orifice in its centre, 7 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in the clear. On its four raised borders are rope-like decorations, from which it is evident that it formed the support of an early sculptured cross, formed of one or more pieces. The burial-place enclosing these ruins is situated on a farm recently acquired under the Land Purchase Act by John O'Driscoll, an intelligent farmer, who was its former tenant on the Carbery estate. He remembered when altering the direction of the former road that a corner was taken from the cemetery, in doing which the workmen came upon a stone coffin formed of an under and upper flagstone, with supporting stones at the sides and ends, in which were the remains of a human skeleton. The finding of this interment at once establishes the fact that in remote times the place had been set apart for Christian burials all memory of which has long since passed away. But the custom still remains, which is common to these lonely and isolated graveyards, of making them the resting-places for unbaptised children. With the exception of the socketed step, no sculptured stone of any kind has so far been met with, but it is hoped that when a careful search is made, portions of the missing cross may yet be recovered. The place is situated on high ground to the north of Castle Freke, and commands an extensive view of the ocean, bounded on the east by Galley Head, and on the west by Castlehaven and Cape Clear. On asking O'Driscoll the name of the place, he said it was "Killeen-Meen-Ruig," given as he pronounced it, but he could not translate the words into English. I am, however, indebted to the late Mr. Patrick Stanton, a well known local authority, who says Killeen-Meen is a smooth open little

church, indicating that it had been levelled, partly erased and smoothed down—a most accurate description of its present state; while “Mionn Rioga” is a Royal Diadem. Possibly this ancient church had in it a sacred jewel, diadem, or relic from which it derived its name.

CORK-MADE SILVER CHALICE.—I have recently acquired a Cork-made Silver Chalice, without lettering, engraving, or device of any kind, which was probably used in private Communion. It has a tulip-shaped cup, with raised globular knop, and rests on a circular foot. The cup was originally gilt, but now only tracings of the gilding remain. It is marked under the foot and under the lip with the two stamps of William Clarke, of Cork, namely the Townmark of **STERLING** and **W.C.** This William Clarke was at the close of the 17th and commencement of the 18th Century the most eminent silversmith in Cork. He was probably the last who used the 17th Century Ship and Castles, which were used by him in 1709 upon the Communion plate of Kilshanig. On a portion of the Carrigaline Church plate and of St. Peter's, Cork, his name occurs associated with the sterling mark.

With the chalice is its paten on foot, which also bears the same marks as those on the cup. It forms a support for the chalice, which fits down upon its raised rim. Both weigh 6 oz. 16 dwt.; the Chalice is $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, the Paten $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. With these, but not in any way belonging to them, is an altar stone slightly polished from use and age, which was found at Tristernagh Abbey, Co. Westmeath, and bought from the finder in March, 1866. It is circular in form, and measures 3 inches across the top and narrowing to 2 inches at the base. To further illustrate the character of W. Clarke's work, I have brought a 10-inch circular fluted fruit-dish, weight 17 oz. 13 dwt., with his “sterling” mark.

I have also brought for your inspection a miniature painted on ivory of “Lady FitzGerald, wife of Sir John FitzGerald, of Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.” This lettering is copied from the back of the portrait, where it had fortunately been preserved. This Sir John FitzGerald succeeded his father, Sir Judkin FitzGerald, who was created a Baronet August 5th, 1801. He (Sir John) was born 27th of August, 1787, and married first, August 10th, 1816, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Pennefather, Esq., of New Park, Co. Tipperary, of whom is the portrait. It is unsigned, and hence we are unable to give the artist's name, but it is a fine example of the best work of the period from 1800 to 1825.

And here I would say to the custodians of family pictures and miniatures that where possible notes should be recorded on the back of each giving the names and, as far as possible, the history connected with them. But for the record on the back of this beautiful painting we would have been unable to fix its identity.

H.M. MAILS, 1825.—Prior to the year 1825 the post bag from Cove was brought by a foot messenger, who walked the whole way, about nine English miles, out and home every day except Sundays, crossing the river at Passage West, and bringing the bag from that place also. He not only carried the mails, but was also employed by the merchants in Cork and Cove for taking sums of money from one to the other, and was entirely in their confidence. The last person so employed was named Bowdler. He started on a December night in a storm of rain and snow, and to fortify himself against the inclemency of the weather imbibed an extra allowance of whiskey, as he said, “to clear his brain,” because he had been haunted by stories of tramps and foot-pads who were infesting the roads and robbing defenceless passengers. With an anxious care for his mail bags, a happy thought struck him, and he determined to hide the money in a ruined wall, where he would be sure to find it upon the morrow. So in passing along he found a suitable place for his purpose, where he placed the money and built it in. But the next day, when the clarifying effects of the whiskey had passed away, he could neither find the hiding place nor remember the spot where he had deposited the money, and after much search was unable to find it. He told the merchants his story, who, having entire confidence in his honesty and faithfulness, took no action against him, fully relying on the truth of his statement.

Some months after this, when coming along the same road, and not taking warning by his previous mischance, he again over-indulged in his favourite drink, and on coming near the place where he had secreted the money, as if by inspiration, he hit upon the spot, and in it the cash just as he had placed it. We must leave it to psychologists to explain the different actions of the man's mind when under the influence of Cork whiskey or otherwise.

A vote of thanks having been accorded Mr. Day, the meeting terminated.¹

¹ As the powerful influence of the Press has so far hardly been brought to bear on the continued destruction of our ancient monuments, we are glad to give a permanent place to the much-needed and suggestive remarks recently made on this important subject

The Second Winter Meeting of the Society was held at the Cork Library on Friday, Dec. 11th, at which were present—Mr. Robert Day, F.S.A., President; Messrs. C. Cremen, J. P. Dalton, J. Fryer, W. H. McMahon, T. H. Mahony, M.R.S.A.I.; John O'Mullane, D. J. Ryan, J. Coleman, Hon. Sec., etc.

The Hon. Secretary having informed the meeting that the Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore and Dr. Philip G. Lee had kindly promised to deliver lectures on behalf of the Society, the latter on the early antiquities of the County Kerry, besides which Dr. Lee had courteously placed at the Society's disposal a photo of Castle Inch, taken prior to its recent ruthless destruction.

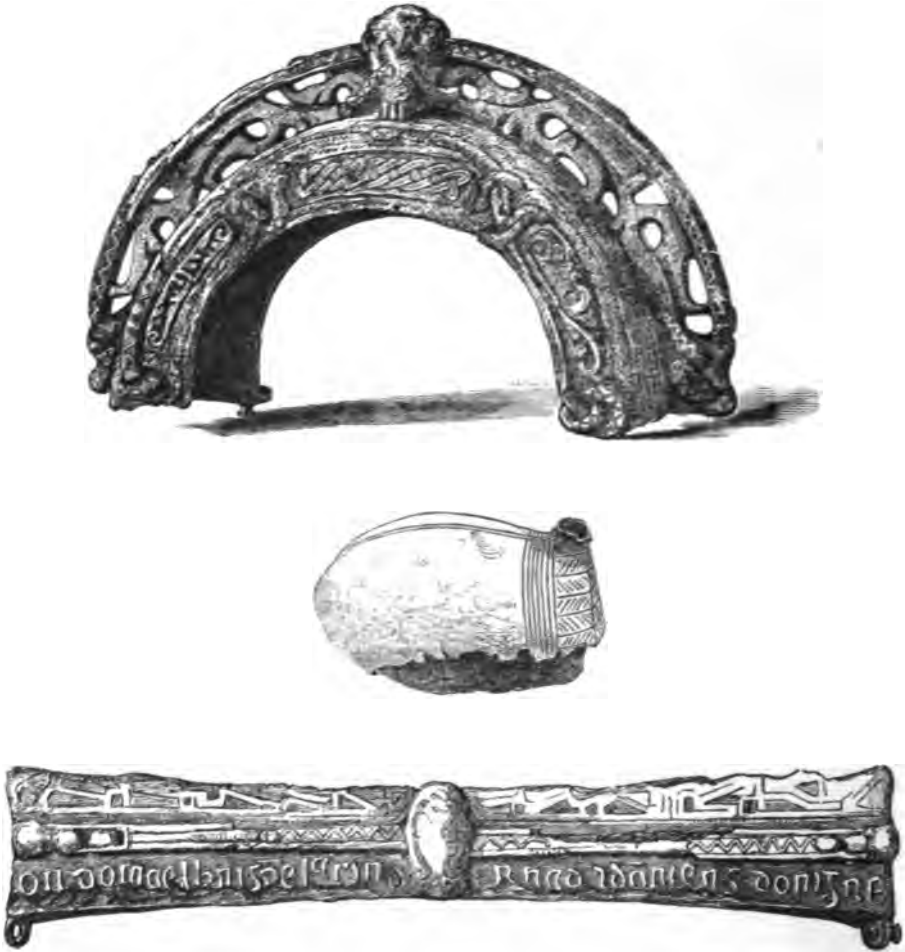
The President (Mr. Day) then proceeded to exhibit and describe some rare, beautiful and valuable specimens of Oriental seals, rings, signets, cameos, etc., from his collection. Besides these Mr. Day showed an exceedingly well-preserved ancient Irish bell, of which there are very few similar examples in the South of Ireland. "This bell is known as the Bell of Ballymena, from its having been found in the townland of Cabragh, in the parish of Ballymena, about a mile from the ruined church of Kilconnola, and about three miles from Ballymena town. The church just named, to which it may have belonged, was formerly appropriate to the Abbey of Muckamore, near Antrim. This bell is wholly of bronze, and is one of the largest that has been found in Ireland. It is quadrilateral in form, and measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in its extreme height by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the mouth, and from its age and the nature of the soil in which it was found embedded, it has acquired a soft lustrous green patination. Its clapper, unfortunately, is missing. This bell is formed of cast bronze without rivets, and dates from the tenth century, thus differing from the earlier fifth century Irish bells, which were of iron. Of these early bells, that of St. Patrick is the oldest and most authentic relic of Irish Christian metal work that has been preserved to us, having been in existence fourteen hundred years. St. Patrick's Bell is formed of two plates of sheet iron, which are bent over so as to meet, and then fastened together by large-headed iron rivets, the joints having been strengthened by a fusion of bronze, by which the frame was consolidated and preserved. Mr. Day further exhibited the shrine-arch of Maelbrigde's Bell, a beautiful example of Irish tenth century metal work, discovered on the Bann shore, County Antrim, 1875, and with it a gold bulla (now also in Mr. Day's collection). This shrine-arch is singular in its having the only known inscription in Irish characters of raised metal work upon it, of which the translation runs:—"Pray for Maelbrigde, through whom it was made, and for the . . . who made it." Maelbrigde was son of Redan, Bishop of Connor, and Abbot of Muckamore, and Ahoghill, who died A.D. 954. The material of which it is made is bronze, overlaid with ornaments of gold and silver, and it measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth by 2 inches in height. Such shrines or caskets for bells seem to be unknown in any other branch of the Christian Church. Six examples of them have been preserved in Ireland, among which are the shrines of St. Patrick's Bell, in Armagh, that of St. Mura, at Fahan, County Donegal; of Conell Cael, in Glencolumkille; of St. Mogue, from Temple Port, County Cavan; St. Culanus, Co. Tipperary, and the Clogh Oir, or Golden Bell, of St.

by a local newspaper, the "Cork Chronicle," under the heading "Our Memorials of the Past":—"At the annual meeting of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society attention was drawn to the growing unconcern of the Irish people in the monuments that link their present and past histories. There is no going behind the fact that the hand of vandalism is at present doing more destruction than for centuries during the darkest period of our chequered history. Monuments of the past that have withstood the wear and tear of time during the centuries that have gone since the era of the Firbolg and Tuatha Dedanans are now regarded as things of no consequence. For ages they were looked on with feelings of awe if not reverence. The Celtic imagination peopled the forts, lisses, and cromlechs with fairies, or "good people," and none cared to desecrate them. The ruined churches, abbeys, and castles of mediæval history were also allowed to moulder away from century to century untouched save by the wasting hand of time. Nothing was done to preserve them from wind and element; neither was anything done to hasten their decay. Many of the landlords took steps to prevent interference with the ancient monuments on their estates. But times are changed. The present age is materialistic and utilitarian. The people have become too enlightened to believe in the "good people," but not enlightened enough to inquire into the distant history of their country. The earthen raths and forts are dug up to fill hollows in the field, and the castles of Irish princes and lords pulled down to repair roads or build labourers' cottages. One might well ask what is to become of a nation that will permit this. Under the Land Act of 1903 ancient monuments do not pass on the sale of an estate to the purchasing tenants, but become vested in the Board of Works or the local County Council. But so far no public authority has taken much interest in the newly-acquired property, while acts of the grossest vandalism have been performed with impunity. It is truly time that those in authority should realise their responsibility in this matter."

Senanus, of which the Keanes of the County Clare are still the hereditary keepers. St. Senanus lived circa 540, and spent part of his life at Inniscarra, near Cork; but his bell is associated with Scattery Island, at the mouth of the Shannon, where he ended his days.

The thanks of the meeting having been warmly accorded to Mr. Day for his kindness in submitting these rare types of ancient work for the inspection of all present,

The Hon. Sec. read a lengthy paper dealing with the antiquarian remains in the vicinity of Youghal, including Rhincrew, Templemichael, Molana Abbey, Kilnatoora



SHRINE ARCH AND INSCRIPTION.

and Cornaveigh Castles, all within an hour's walk from Youghal; Kinsale Beg, on the opposite side of the harbour, and Tynte's Castle, within the town, photo views of which were shown, taken by Mr. E. C. Ronayne, B.L., and Horgan Bros., Youghal.

Hopes were expressed that these ancient buildings and remains would be placed in the custody of the Board of Works or of the County Council, and Mr. C. Cremen having called attention to the existence of some supposed remains of a house of the Knights Hospitallers, otherwise known as the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, at Cittadella, Blackrock, as well as to the graveyard attached to their church at the south side of Douglas street, the meeting terminated.

Notes and Queries.

Murphy Family, of Newtown, near Bantry.—I shall be extremely obliged to any reader of this "Journal" who can give me information in reference to this family, or put me "on the track." All I know is that Ann Murphy married Humphrey Massy, of Mount Massy (she died in 1779, and he about 1759), that her father was Thomas Murphy, of Newtown, by his first wife, Susanna Parker (who is described in a document in my possession as "grand-daughter of Joan, wife of John Townsend, of Cashel, Co. Cork"), and that the father of Thomas was also Thomas of Newtown, who is said to have married Johanna Handcock, "who was the second wife of John Townsend, of Cashel." Information about Parkers and Handcocks would, therefore, also be welcome. Is there a family of Murphy still at Newtown, and where is it?

J. F. FULLER, Glashnacree, Kenmare.

Sir William Homan, Bart.—In reference to Mr. Robert Day's interesting note on Sir William Homan, the following may prove supplementary. William Jackson Homan was born in 1771, and, in 1797, married Lady Charlotte Stuart, second daughter of John, first Marquis of Bute. Mr. Lecky's story was likely the traditional version, but it does not altogether tally with the actual facts. Lady Charlotte Stuart—not Lady Mary, as Mr. Lecky writes—was born July 16th, 1771, and married William Jackson Homan on June 13th, 1797. Her husband was created a baronet of the United Kingdom on August 1st, 1801. A year later Lady Gertrude Villiers, of Dromana, Co. Waterford, married (July 1st, 1802) John, fifth son of John, first Marquis of Bute, and died August 30th, 1809, a little more than a fortnight after the death of her husband. Their son, Henry Villiers Stuart, was born June 8th, 1803, and during his minority Sir William Jackson Homan and his wife came to Dromana on a visit, and settled at Dromroe House. A favourite son was drowned at sea in 1820, and Sir William Homan erected a beautiful marble cenotaph to his memory at the Killeen of Drumroe, the inscription on which, in chaste English and Latin, was copied by the present writer in August, 1893, and printed in the *Waterford Archaeological Journal* for April, 1897. He continued to live at Dromroe House from 1805 to 1830, when he removed to Clifton House, Youghal, then vacated by John Keily. He and his wife were great friends of Lady Morgan, and it was to Lady Charlotte Homan that Sydney Owen-son (Lady Morgan) dedicated one of her musical compositions in 1806. In 1839 Sir William Homan is described as of "Clifton House, Youghal," but he must have removed to Dunlum, Co. Westmeath, in 1841. His son and heir was Philip George Stewart Homan. In 1839, his nephew, Henry Villiers Stuart, was created Baron Stuart de Decies of Dromana. Let me add that the former wooden bridge at Youghal was commenced in 1829, and finished in 1832, at a cost of over £30,000.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, Mus.D., K.S.G.

The Cotter Emigrants to the Brazils in 1827.—In the Notes on the Cotter Family, in the *Journal* for January-March, 1908, page 11, reference was made to an emigration party to the Brazils, headed by one of this family. Probably the only existing record of these Cotter emigrants is that to be found in the Rev. Robert Walsh's "Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829," from which work it appears that Colonel Cotter, having become an officer in the Brazilian Imperial Service, entered into an agreement with the Brazilian Government in October, 1826, to bring out a number of his countrymen, who were to act as soldiers for five years, if called on, at the end of which period they were each to receive 50 acres of land free. Thus authorised Colonel Cotter came back to Cork, caused notices to be affixed to the chapel doors, and got the clergy to announce from the altar the particulars of his emigration party. The notifications were received with joy. Many people sold their farms, and mechanics joined as well, so that a party of 2,400 persons were found ready to start for South America. The ships that took them out were well found with good stores and provisions. But on arriving out nothing was ready for their accommodation. The Minister of War was hostile to them as foreigners, and a system of petty persecution commenced which roused them into mutiny and finally drove them out of the country. Ultimately all but 400 of these Irish emigrants were conveyed home. Of these 400 two hundred were sent to Bahia, where they formed a prosperous colony. The greatest part of those who returned were in a disabled state from hardships, privation and sickness, and had become lame from the bites of insects, as they were not furnished with shoes, or able to provide them whilst in Brazil. Many of the men, therefore, ended their days as lame beggars in the streets of Cork, or as incurables in its hospitals, not through any fault of their own or of Colonel Cotter, but owing to the breach of faith on the part of the Brazilian authorities when these poor people had reached their destination.

J. C.

Reviews of Books.

The Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland's Annual Report for 1907.

The object of this Society is to collect and preserve the materials for, and promote the knowledge of, the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland; and judging by the above first annual report, its members have been most earnest and successful in their endeavours to carry out its aims. It would be a fortunate circumstance if the other religious denominations in Ireland, especially in the South, where the historical and ecclesiastical instinct has become so dead that in some important centres we believe no diocesan records whatever are kept, were to follow the example of this Northern Society in registering and collecting all records, session books, baptism and marriage registers, manuscripts, original documents, rare books and pamphlets, sermons, congregational histories, portraits, pictures of churches, Communion plate, tokens, curious relics, &c., to be placed in some central

position, such as that afforded for the Presbyterian Society in their Church House at Belfast. The value and importance of work of this sort is so obvious to all, that one wonders why it should not long since have been in operation throughout the whole of Ireland.

R. I. Academy's Proceedings, Vol. xxviii., Sec. C., Nos. 6, 7. Price 1s.

The subject of this, one of the most recent of the Academy's valuable productions, is "A Very Rare Kilkenny-printed Proclamation and its Printer, William Smith," and a Notice of Humphrey Powell, the first Dublin printer, both by Mr. E. R. McC. Dix, whose name as our Irish Bibliographer-in-Chief is well known to the readers of this *Journal*. Of special interest to us is the first section of this work, as it pretty clearly establishes the fact that the aforesaid William Smith, the printer of the Proclamation issued by the Marquis of Ormond shortly after he had landed in our harbour from France on Michaelmas Day, 1648, carried on the printing business for some time in Cork City, where he published, as Mr. Dix informs us, at least five works, viz., "An Agreement of the Associated Ministers," 1657; Davies' "History of Charles II.," 1660; a Sermon by Rev. John Butler, 1662; Usher's Prophecies, 1679, and Dermot MacCarthy's Pedigree of Viscount Mountcashel, of which there is a copy in the Dublin Municipal Library, which, no doubt, would be well worth publishing in our *Journal*. Of Humphrey Powell, by whom printing was first introduced into Ireland, Mr. Dix is able to supply some particulars not given in the notice relative to him in that great literary storehouse, the *Dict. Nat. Biography*. Fac-similes of the Kilkenny Proclamation and of Humphrey Powell's early printing add considerably to the value of this latest proof of Mr. Dix's devotion to the important subject of Irish bibliography.

Journal of the Galway Archæological and Historical Society, Vol. v., No. 2, 1908.

This latest issue of the *Galway Journal* is devoted entirely to a reproduction of the Galway Corporation Book B, prefixed to which Mr. Martin J. Blake supplies a very interesting Introduction, besides some very interesting explanatory footnotes throughout. Those who are acquainted with Dr. Caulfield's Council Books of Cork, Kinsale and Youghal will easily recognise the value and importance of such publications as this Galway Corporation Book, which are not only of local but of general interest, from the sidelights they throw on our national history. Connected with this Corporation Book of Galway, our Council Member and constant contributor, Mr. James Buckley, has had the great good fortune to discover, since the present portion was published, one of the missing volumes of the Galway Corporation Records in a second-hand bookshop in London. The volume thus fortunately recovered extends from 1731 to 1750. It would be well if the missing portion of our Cork Council Book were similarly discovered, as that of the Galway one has just so luckily been, thanks to Mr. Buckley's archæological instincts and keen penetration.

The Kerry Archæological Magazine, No. 1.

To this first number of the *Journal* of the Archæological Society of our neighbouring county, Kerry, we must extend a cordial welcome, for with

no other county in Ireland has our own been so closely intermixed in the past, whilst no county possesses such rare and unique types of Irish antiquities and offers such a virgin field for antiquarian research. In the present number we have an interesting introduction, showing the rise, formation and aims of the Society by its devoted Editor and Hon. Sec., Miss Charlotte Hussey, followed by an account of the Inaugural Meeting under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Earl of Kenmare. "The Antiquities near Lispolle" is an informing and illustrated paper by the Lord Bishop of Limerick. "The Story of Castle Magne" is graphically and exhaustively narrated by the Rev. J. Carmody, the hospitable P.P. of Mil-town. A useful bibliography of the Co. Kerry is supplied by Mr. James Coleman; whilst a concluding section is devoted to Notes and Queries. This number is well brought out by J. Quinnell and Sons, Tralee, the cover alone being of great interest, designed, we believe, by Miss Hussey, and augurs well on the whole for the many successors which, we trust, it will have in the future.

The County Louth Archæological Journal for 1908, recently brought out by its famous printer, Mr. William Tempest, Dundalk, presents its usually numerous and varied table of contents, there being upwards of nineteen articles, including papers on the Place Names and Holy Wells in the Co. Louth, by our Vice-President, General Stubbs, and one on Louth and Bibliography by the Hon. Sec. of our Society. A most gratifying feature connected with the Louth Society and its *Journal* is the large number of the Catholic clergy who are not only members, but contributors to the *Journal*, such as the Rev. Dr. J. MacCaffrey, Rev. T. Fogarty, and Rev. L. Donnellan, who contribute valuable papers to the present number. With the clergy thus taking that commendable interest in archæological affairs, which exists so far as the Co. Louth is concerned, there is little probability of the vandalism taking place there which has unfortunately become so common an occurrence of late in our own county. The Notes and Queries, Reviews and other interesting items which are further to be found in this *Journal*, as well as its typographical get-up, reflect the greatest credit on all concerned in the production of this excellent local publication.

O'Neill's Irish Music. Dublin: Gill & Co.

This is the second, if not the third, most praiseworthy and successful endeavour of Captain Francis O'Neill, Retired General Superintendent of Police, Chicago, to preserve and popularise the music of his native country, though living so far remote from it. In the present work are to be found 250 choice selections of airs, jigs, reels and hornpipes, long dances, &c., most of them rare, and many of them until now unpublished, all arranged for the piano and violin. Many of the pieces here produced bear familiar Cork titles, though no longer probably remembered in the localities themselves, such as "Bandon Bridge," "Lord Doneraile," "The Humours of Bantry," "The Top of Cork Road," "The Walls of Liscarrol," "Macroom Lasses," "Bantry Bay," "The Humours of Bandon," &c., which should prove an extra attraction to the musicians of our county. The volume extends to 126 pages quarto. It is beautifully brought out by Lyon and Healy, Chicago, and has prefixed to it an excellent illustration of the Dalmeny Harp, which was made in 1621 by Donal O'Dermody, of Kilkenny, for Sir John FitzEdmund Fitzgerald, of Cloyne, Co. Cork.

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TO THE

JOURNAL OF THE CORK HISTORICAL

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